

Th. Sect.

A Comparative Study of the Figures of Speech in Early
Provencal and Italian Lyrical Poetry, down to and including
Dante's "Vita Nuova" and "Rime."

? Pp. 105 + 144 ?

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these subjects exclusively: namely, Petrarch's theory of love.

Alighieri's theory of love, 8. Cino da Pistoia's theory of love, 9. Cino da Pistoia's theory of love, 10. Dante Alighieri's theory of love.

Cino da Pistoia's theory of love, his friend on his theory of love.

In his theory after the illustrious vernacular Dante

distinguishes at the outset, three families of language,

"oil," "oc" and "oi." Referring to scholars which receive the

preference he decides to confine his researches to spoken

Italian. This being so, it is noteworthy that in subsequent

illustrations of various points he cites and quotes from the

Provençal troubadours as if they were in exactly the same

category as the poets of his own land. The above quotation

is one instance of this practice and there are others to be

found in II. v., II. vi, and II. x. To name therefore,

the difference between the vernacular of "oc" and that of "oi"

is negligible in comparison with the all-important fact that

both were vernacular.

Although Provençal and early Italian poetry widely

divergent linguistic characteristics to the modern mind, Dante

I N T R O D U C T I O N .

"Petrus de Alvernia et alii antiquiores doctores."⁽¹⁾

"And if we duly consider, we shall find that the illustrious writers have written poetry in the vulgar tongue on these subjects exclusively; namely Bertran de Born on Arms, Arnaut Daniel on Love, Giraut de Borneil on Righteousness, Cino of Pistoia on Love, his friend on Righteousness."

In his 'chase' after the illustrious vernacular Dante distinguishes at the outset, three families of languages, "oil," "oc" and "si." Refusing to declare which merits the preference he decides to confine his researches to spoken Italian. This being so, it is noteworthy that in subsequent illustrations of various points he cites and quotes from the Provençal troubadours as if they were in exactly the same category as the poets of his own land. The above quotation is one instance of this practice and there are others to be found in II. v., II. vi. and II. x. To Dante therefore, the difference between the vernacular of "oc" and that of "si" was negligible in comparison with the all-important fact that both were vernacular.

Although Provençal and early Italian present widely divergent lingual characteristics to the modern mind, Dante

(1) D.V.E.I.X.

regarded the illustrious writers of both as constituting one illustrious example and one noble heritage. And the fact that he did so must be our first pretext for claiming at the very outset that Provençal troubadours and Italian singers form one unbroken chain of literary tradition.

In the "De Volgare Eloquentia," indeed, Dante deals with at least one link in the chain, namely the construction of the canzone. He also explains how he has imitated Arnaut Daniel in his own poem 'Al poco e al gran cerchio d'ombra,' with regard to the non-repetition of musical phrase and the omission of the diesis. He associates himself too with G. de Borneil as a singer of righteousness. In the Vita Nuova, there is one mention of the "lingua d'oc"⁽¹⁾ and here again we find it coupled with Italian as being the first two literatures in the vulgar.

In the Convivio, however, Dante is at great pains to point out that the "lingua di si" is by no means a less worthy vehicle. The passage in Convivio I.x.11 -- is familiar to all students of Dante. He feels compelled, he says, to defend "lo nostro volgare da molti suoi accusator, li quali dispregiano esso e commendano li altri, inmassimamente quello di lingua d'oco, dicendo che è più bello e migliore quello che questo; partendose in ciò da la veritade." The defence

(1) Testo critico XXV. 4.

is developed accordingly and in section XI. becomes a scathing attack upon "li malvagi uomini d'Italia, che commendano lo volgare altrui e lo loro proprio dispregiano." From our point of view the value of this information is peculiarly important. The fact that Dante was impelled to make such an analogy for the "lingua di si" demonstrates in a very significant way how great the hold of the "lingua d'oc" was upon Italy. So much so that we cannot forbear to ask ourselves what the situation might have become without Dante's great appeal. Probably the development of Italian vernacular literature would have become inevitably a very slow process.

The only other reference made by Dante to the Provençal troubadours from a literary point of view is the well-known passage on Arnaut Daniel in Purgatorio XXVI., 118 ---

"O frate," disse "questi ch'io ti cerno
col dito," e additò un spirto innanzi,
fu miglior fabbro del parlar materno.
Versi d'amore e prose di romanzi
Soverchio tutt ;"

The oft disputed question of "prose di romanzi" does not concern us here. It is sufficient to recall that Dante regarded Arnaut Daniel as a very great poet.

II. Petrarch.

After the passing of Dante the next great tribute to be paid to the troubadours is that of Petrarch, Petrarch who himself was really a late member of the school. His long stay in Avignon amid the traditions of Provençal lyric poetry, and his love for Laura, "La bella Provenzale," combined to revive in him the early courtly spirit. We are of course confining ourselves in this connection to the work of the "canzoniere," because we must not forget that Petrarch prided himself most highly upon his Latin works, especially the 'Africa.' despite the challenge of Dante's 'De Volgare Eloquentia;' his "rime" or "nugellae" as he termed them were in his eyes a less serious occupation, although he bestowed no less care upon them. This, however, is not the main point which concerns us at present; we wish to show what the great poet's attitude was to that school of which his own poetry is a tardy survival. In the 'Trionfo d'Amore,' capit. IV., occurs a very famous passage in which love-poets of various nations are referred to. The circumstances are as follows - we quote from the "razos" -:- "Narra che come fu innamorato si dienestico subito con tutti gli altri consorti suoi, de'quali conobbe le pene e i casi; e che vide alcuni poeti amorosi, di varie nazioni." Among these companions

are many illustrious personages - Anacreon, Pindar, Virgil, Catullus, and many more. The poet's immediate predecessors and contemporaries follow and then come our Provençal troubadours - a goodly fellowship bringing the cortège to a brilliant close. It is significant that though Petrarch draws our attention to their "portamenti e volgari strani," he places them side by side with his own countrymen and gives them a more prominent and extensive representation, indeed they form the shining climax of his list. Clearly he regards them as having merits equal to all and inferior to none, clearly, too, he desires to make a conscious claim of kinship between Italian and Provençal. In Dante this claim was unconscious, otherwise Petrarch has retained the attitude of his greater forebear.

In conclusion we permit ourselves to quote a longer passage of the 'Trionfo d'Amore' than is customary. The review of Greek and Roman poets would be of little value, but from our point of view it is interesting to see in direct sequence the relative treatment of Italian and Provençal; more especially as those names do not appear to be a mere enumeration, they are chosen and placed with a certain care for literary precedence and historical derivation. Accordingly we begin with Dante:

"Ecco Dante e Beatrice; ecco Selvaggia;
 Ecco Cin da Pistoia; Guitton d'Arezzo,
 Che di non esser primo par ch'ira aggia.
 Ecco i duo Guidi, che già fur' in prezzo;
 Onesto Bolognese; e i Ciciliani,
 Che fur già primi, e quivi eran da sezzo;
 Senuccio e Franceschin, che fur sì umani
 Come ogniim vide: e poi v'era un drappello
 Di portamenti e di volgari strani.
 Fra tutti il primo Arnaldo Daniello,
 Gran maestro d'amor; ch'alla sua terra
 Ancor fa onor col suo dir strano e bello.
 Eranvi quei ch'Amor si leve afferra,
 L'un Piero e l'altro; e l'nen famoso Arnaldo;
 E quei che fur conquisi con più guerra,
 I dico l'uno e l'altro Raienbaldo,
 Che cantò pur Beatrice e Monferrato;
 E'l vecchio Pier d'Alvernhia con Giraldo;
 Folcho, que' ch'a Massilia il nome ha dato,
 Ed a Genova tolto, ed all' estremo
 Cangiò per miglior patria abito e stato;
 Giaufre Rudel, ch'usò la vela e'l remo
 A cercar la sua morte; e quel Gullielmo
 Che per cantare ha'l fior de' suoi di scemo;
 Amerigo, Bernardo, Ugo e Gauselmo;
 E molti altri ne vidi, a cui la lingua
 Lancia e spada fu sempre e targia ed elmo."(1)

(1) p. 16, Pan. Leipzig.

III. Mario Equicola.

In 1525 an interesting little work was published by Mario Equicola, entitled "Di natura d'amore." This book refers constantly to the treatment of love in various writers and poets of classical antiquity and modern literature, and, curiously enough, the Italian vernacular receives a much slighter tribute than does the Provençal. Equicola mentions Lapo Gianni as being the first writer in the vulgar of whom he knows. Guido Cavalcanti receives considerable praise for his simplicity, sincerity and new philosophical treatment of love, but it is evident that Equicola owes his information to Petrarch. Guittone d'Arezzo is a mere name. Cino da Pistoia and Guido Guinizelli are known to him through certain poems. Dante is the subject of a special investigation, but Equicola has no conception at all of his greatness. Petrarch is signalled out as attaining the highest point of skill in vernacular achievement. This seems a very meagre tribute to the Italian literature extant at the time and it is strikingly so when we contrast it with the author's obviously wide range of provençal reading. Indeed, as pointed out by Paul Meyer⁽¹⁾ and A. Thomas⁽²⁾, Equicola and Francesco da Barberino must, from internal evidence, have had miscellanies of provençal poetry which are since lost utterly.

(1) Romania X. p. 619.

(2) 'Francisco da Barberino et la litt. prov. en Italie' p. 107.

Mario Equicola is a quaint philosopher whose meditations are of a somewhat rambling nature. Their piquancy and naïveté make them a fascinating study for any reader, their peculiar interest here arises out of the attitude taken up by their author with regard to Provençal poetry. In one of the frequent metaphors upon which he rather prides himself, he gives voice to the following opinion:-

"Et cosi noi entrati in nave, sciogliamola, et date le vele al vento per le spiagge di Provenza, e porti diportandone, quelli trascorriano donde i nostri volgari dicitori di ricche merci carchi sono felicemente ritornati."⁽¹⁾

From pages 261 - 263 Equicola gives a long list of the most noted troubadours, with an occasional biographical detail; from page 264 onwards he gives a full and accurate account of the troubadours' conception of love and of their ideal of womanhood. This account is worthy of attention as it bears striking witness to Mario's accurate knowledge of troubadour texts. He strings together a remarkable number of quotations (in translated form), some of which are easily recognisable. Their bulk is surprising and if one may hazard the suggestion on so slender a piece of evidence, their impetuous and almost disorderly stream gives the impression of lines known by heart, which are occurring to the author faster than he can put pen to paper. When at last he pauses, we

(1) p. 263. Venetia, 1607.

might almost say for want of breath, he quaintly remarks:

"Tali, e simili modi hano i Provenzali trovatori, e così gli chiamo che Ioglar appo quelli era chi componea da sè, e chi le altrui compositioni recitava."(1)

From our particular point of view, the significance of these facts may be summed up as follows:- firstly, as late as 1525 we find an Italian writer, whether an exception to rule or not, whose real literary heritage was undoubtedly constituted by troubadour poetry which he quotes with the confident fluency of one to whom the Provençal lyrics were commonplace. Secondly, we find in Mario Equicola's metaphor of the ship, erroneous as it may be, another conscious tribute to the part played by Provençal in bringing to birth Italian vernacular poetry.(2)

(1) Op. cit. p. 267.

(2) In this same year, 1525, Bembo, in his 'Prose della volgar lingua' had pointed out, in language which errs if at all in the excess of its claims, the primacy and importance of Provençal literature in the development of Western poetry. Thus, in the first dialogue he places these words in the mouth of Federigo Frejoso:

"Era per tutto il Ponente la favella Provenzale ne tempi, ne quali ella fiori, in prezzo. & in istima molto, & tra tutti gli altri idiomi di quelli parti di gran lunga primiera. Conciòsiacosa che ciascuno o Francese, o Fiamingo, o Guascone, o Borgognone, o altrimenti di quelle nationi, che egli si fosse; il quale bene scrivere, & specialmente verseggiar volesse; quantunque egli Provenzale non fosse, lo faceva Provenzalmente. Anzi ella tanto oltre passo in reputatione & fama; che non solamente Catalani, che vicinissimi sono alla Francia, o pure Spagninoli più adentro; tra quali fu uno il Re Alfonso d'Aragona figliuolo di Ramondo Beringhieri; ma oltre accio etiandio alquanti Italiani si truovo che scrissero & poetarono Provenzalmente; & tra questi tre ne furono della patria mia; di ciascuno de quali ho io già letto canzoni."A

x ('Prose' Firenze, Lorenzo Torrentino, 1548.)

These views were widely taken up by other critics of the sixteenth century. Indeed, it is coming to be recognised that knowledge of mediaeval poetry was much more widespread than has hitherto been believed, although for the most part, subsequent writers contented themselves with amplifying the remarks of Bembo. Of these lesser lights the most noted are possibly Varchi, Niccola Villani, Sansovino, Ciro Spontone, L. Zuccolo, and finally the learned Federigo Ubaldini, who edited Barberino's 'Documenti d'Amore.'⁽¹⁾ Such passages as the two following are typical:

Federigo Ubaldini:⁽²⁾ "Che s'era dalla corte di Provenza propagata una tale onesta allegria, che teneva l'Europa in continue feste; sì che i nobili d'allora havendo dedicato tutto il lor tempo ad aggradir alle Dame, s'intratteneveno in conviti, e musiche &c., ne bastando l'opere, perchè più altamente venissero onorate si trovarono le Rime, invenzione molto confacevole alla tenerezza de' loro ingegni &c. passo in Italia tal costume, e massimamente nelle due Sicilie."

Ciro Spontone.⁽³⁾ "Per quanto dall' antichità loro si ritrae, avevano quei Poeti (cioè i Provenzali) fatta una regola, che gli legava ad osservare nello loro composizioni la lor lingua; e dovevasi osservare veramente, se non a cagion d'altro, per lo privilegio almeno d'essere stati i primi Rimatori volgari: ma cadendo poi la signoria di Provenza ne' Re, Conti, e Signori, di nazioni e di lingue diverse, condussero altresì diversi begli' ingegni seco, che a rimare si posero, e' hora un bel motto de' lor paesi inestavano, hor fraponendone uno con quei de' gli stravieri anchora, e quando in questa varietà un concetto intiero spiegando, parve loro di non fare ingiuria alla venerando antichità della lingua Provenzale: ma più tosto di mostrarsele grati, & voluntarij tributarij."

It must be remembered that Castelvetro misreading a passage of Petrarch's in the preface to his Familiar Letters, opposed Bembo and stoutly maintained that the Sicilian poets flourished before the Provençal, and that the latter learnt the rules of their art from the former. In this contention Castelvetro was followed by Pier Francesco Giambullari, but by very few others.

Thus there is a strong current of Provençal reference running through the main part of vernacular Renaissance criticism, doubtless reinforced by the publication at Lyons in 1575 of the 'Lives of the Troubadours' by Nostradamus.

(1) Venezia, Taccuino.

(2) Letter. Lettor. Docum. Am. Barber.

(3) 'Dialog. del. nuov. vers. enneasill.' p. 8.

V. Redi.

Homage of quite a different character is paid to the Provençal troubadours by Francesco Redi, about a hundred years later. It is the tribute of one who has interested himself in the subject from a scholarly point of view. Francesco Redi is indebted for his materials entirely to the library of San Lorenzo, the manuscripts of which he must have known exceedingly well.

He has taken up the linguistic side of Provençal Italian - "e i trovatori e i provenzali" - he says at one point. When dealing with a usage current in Italian he very often remarks - "il che non si trova in Provençal" - a fact which appears to excite him surprise. In his explanation of the word "sonetto" Redi develops his ideas at some length and as the passage is also typical of his method, it will serve well for quotation purposes.

---e nel primo e nel più antico poemetto, o trovatore Provenzale non ne trova esempio veruno. Non si è però ignoto, che il vocabolo sonetto si legge frequentemente nelle composizioni posteriori di molti trovatori Provenzali, i quali ne fanno uso, e fiorirono, misero in versi gran numero e di più la loro lingua, che ella era intesa e usata quasi da tutti coloro che professavano per le lettere gentili e di cavalleria

study and reminds us from time to time that he himself has composed a Provençal glossary. Redi gives his critical attention to words rather than form and it is to his notes on 'Bacco in Toscana' that we owe this information. The origin and history of words is a subject which appealed to him greatly and frequently he has occasion to say that certain words have come into Italian through the Provençal. When he desires to enumerate examples, he chooses illustrations from Provençal with the same respect as he does from Greek and Latin. We find also that he too regards Provençal as a sister tongue to Italian - "e i Toscani e i Provenzali" - he says at one juncture. When dealing with a usage current in Italian he very often remarks - "I can find no example of this in Provençal" - a fact which appears to cause him surprise. In his explanation of the word "sonetto" Redi develops his ideas at some length and as the passage is also typical of his method, it will serve well for quotation purposes.

"---ma nei primi e ne'più antichi poeti, o trovatori Provenzali non ne trovo esempio veruno. Non mi è però ignoto, che il vocabolo sonetto si legge frequentemente nelle composizioni poetiche di essi trovatori Provenzali, i quali ne' tempi che fiorirono, misero in così gran lustro e pregio la loro lingua, che ella era intesa e adoperata quasi da tutti coloro che professavano con le lettere gentilezza di cavalleria

e di corte non solamente ne' paesi della Francia, ma altresì
 nella Germania, nell' Inghilterra e nell' Italia. E veramente
 nell' Italia vi furono molti Italiani, che poesie Provenzali
 composero, tra' quali furono Sordello Mantovano, Bartolaneo
 Giorgi Veneziano, Alberto ~~di Sisterone~~ dell' antichissima e no-
 bilissima Casa de' Marchesi Malespini etc.....Molti ancora I-
 taliani scrivendo in lingua Toscana mescolarono ad arte nelle
 loro poesie molte voci, frasi e modi di dire Provenzali etc."(1)*

Thus in Dante, Petrarch, Equicola and much later in Redi
 we find an acknowledgment of kinship - both conscious and uncon-
 scious. The troubadours are to them the fountainhead from which
 vernacular Italian literature springs. To Dante they are "an-
 tiquiores doctores." to Petrarch they are those

" a cui la lingua
 Lancia e spada fu sempre, e scudo ed elmo."(2)

to Redi they are "i primi e i più antichi poeti o trovatori Pro-
 venzali."(3)

Modern criticism from Fauriel onwards has constantly ap-
 proached the problem from an external and detached viewpoint.
 The whole matter has been investigated on general lines and con-
 troversy has long prevailed as to the extent and the quality

(1) Opere, Milano 1809, Vol. I., p. 169 - 170.

(2) 'Trionfo d'Amore' IV. 51. (3) See above.

* Crescimbeni. Redi's 'Bacco in Toscana' was published in 1685,
 in 1698 appeared Crescimbeni's 'Istoria della volgar poesia.'
 By this time a very considerable knowledge of Provençal poetry
 had been acquired; this is summarised and incorporated by
 Crescimbeni in his work along with specimens of the poetry
 itself. Although the style is somewhat ponderous and uncrit-
 ical, Crescimbeni's book must always be regarded as the key-
 stone of modern Italian criticism.

of the influence which the troubadours had upon Italian poetry. In view of all that has been written upon the subject, it seems strange to have found on looking backwards that early Italian writers never thought of questioning the place of Provençal as father of the Italian lyric. It is thus with a certain feeling of surprise that we discover the general trend of modern criticism to be on the whole adverse to troubadour poetry. So much so that it appears almost necessary to make a kind of apology for Peire d'Auvergne "and others." These early minstrels are constantly reproached with certain defects, insincerity, artificiality and the repetition of commonplaces. The following list of extracts is typical of the kind of attitude which has become the accepted one, it could not of course under any circumstances be regarded as exhaustive:-

"L'argomento prediletto della lirica provenzale fu l'amore, interno al quale si formò a poco a poco tutto un repertorio di concetti, d'imagini, di espressioni che la rese monotona e convenzionale." (Torraca, 'Manuale della litt'. it. p. 5).

"The conventional nature of the whole business may be partly attested by the fact that no undoubted instance of death or suicide for love has been handed down to us." (Chaytor, 'Troubadours' p. 19).

"While examples of the fine careless rapture of inspiration are by no means wanting, artificiality reigns supreme in

the majority of cases." (op. cit. p. 23).

".....a literature artificial to a degree....." ('Troubadours of Dante.' p. xviii.)

"This circle of ideas in which the Provençal love poetry moved, had in Provençal literature itself given rise already to much that was conventional and monotonous. But in Provence it was at home; here this conception of love had developed, having its origin in an actual though artificial condition of things existing among the upper classes." (Gaspary 'Ital. Lit. to Death of Dante.')

"La lirica litteraria della Provenza nacque convenzionaleil feudalismo e la cavalleria costringevano invece i poeti a far gitto di qualunque fantasia individuale, per rimaner tutti in una chiostra insormontabile di motivi comuni;" (Cesareo, 'Origini della poesia lirica.' p. 322.)

"A chi la legge oggidì, questa (la lirica amorosa provenzale) appare uniforme e impacciata negli artefici metrici che i poeti si imponevano per rendere più difficili e perciò più ammirate, le loro canzoni, le "care rime" come dicevano." (Carrara, 'Le Origini e Dante.' p. 14.)

"L'amour une fiction poétique - ce que l'on convoitait dans ces relations c'était la renommée - l'intérêt personnel. La dame était flattée qu'on parle de sa beauté etc." (Diez, 'Poésie des troubadours,' Lille, 1845; p. 137 summarised.)

"nella sua più gran parte fu lirica d'amore; e l'amore cantò con istucchevole monotonia aggrandosi in una cerchia angusta d'idee, suggerite dalla moda e dalle convenzioni che regolavano i rapporti fra la dama e il poeta, piuttosto che ispirati da personali atteggiamenti dell'affetto. Perciò a ragione fu detto che tutta codesta letteratura potrebbe essere considerata come l'opera d'un solo poeta che avesse scritto i suoi versi con varia intonazione etc." (Rossi, Storia della litt. it. p. 74.)

I cannot think that any reader who had studied Provençal widely could make such a statement as, for example this last one of Rossi's. Indeed one is almost tempted to believe that it has become a tradition in criticism to regard troubadour poetry as monotonous and artificial. There is, of course, a basis of truth in the charge but it seems to me that defects which were after all only relative are being extraordinarily exaggerated; they are being picked out from the back-ground of the literature and severed from their individual connections. At all events, on looking into the matter closely, can we claim justifiably that Provençal society of the XII.th-XIII.th centuries was very much more conventional or artificial than civilised society of other times? The fact that court could be paid solely to married ladies was certainly an anomaly in one respect,

but if we remember that these ladies were nearly all feudal land-owners in their own rights, or when their husbands were at the crusades, it does not seem unnatural that they should receive the homage of the minstrels. We must realise also that the marriage of the time was as a rule a mere contract - but the discussion of like points might be prolonged indefinitely.

Looking at the question from another point of view, we might ask - does it seem fair to conclude that because a troubadour uses artificial vehicles of expression his poems are necessarily artificial? Surely it is true that verse is always an artificial form to a greater or lesser extent, the borderline between what is art and what is artifice is somewhat difficult to fix. Probably the anthologies have done a considerable amount to foster this opinion. When confronted with a volume of miscellaneous poems by sundry troubadours it is of necessity the complicated stanza, the recurring epithets which impress themselves most forcibly upon the mind. Thus Paul Meyer says: "Nous ne sommes pas placés dans de bonnes conditions pour apprécier la poésie des troubadours ---- nous oublions que si beaucoup de ses idées et de ses formes nous produisent l'impression de lieux communs, c'est elle qui la première les a trouvées et mises en circulation." ('Romania' v.).

But when we can read the collected poems of one troubadour in a logical sequence, the curious conceits and intricate rimes dwindle in importance and gradually assume their normal position as means to an end, while the character of the poet and the genius of the Provençal develop in a most fascinating manner. "Troubadour lyric poetry regarded as literature would soon produce a surfeit if read in bulk," says Chaytor (op. cit. p. 40). The writer has never found this to be the case and the reason undoubtedly is that so many troubadours are now edited singly. Profound thanks are due to the pioneers who have edited individual authors, and particularly of recent years to M. Mario Roques and the editors of the "Classiques français du moyen âge." It is they who will clear the troubadours eventually from the stigma which at present rests upon their works.

On reaching this point, it seems expedient to make a general survey of the literature in question, in order that we may appreciate to some extent what its nature was. Thus the first thing that strikes one is its quite extraordinary bulk. Chaytor fixes the number of troubadours at five hundred. Secondly, the majority of these troubadours were exceedingly productive. so that when we compare early Italian lyric poetry with that of Provence we are forcibly struck by the difference in quantity. Thirdly, this literature is of a most remarkable

variety, it includes love-poems or "canzoni" of various types, "tenzoni" or "question and answer" poems, albas, pastorellas, hymns to the Virgin and political or polemical sirventes, etc. From Francesco da Barberino, we know that there existed also a great mass of romances and that there were extant many prose manuals of etiquette, of which one of the most noted was that of the Countess of Die. Fourthly, we are confronted with the rather startling fact that although these poets are writing of the same subjects in the same forms of verse, they manage to preserve their identity in a very real manner. Their personality gleams through their poems in such a way as to make the claim of insincerity appear rather ill-founded. This truth will be confirmed by any reader who confines himself to the actual texts without allowing himself to be prejudiced by the unsubstantial but thoroughly fascinating 'lives.' Thus we see Guillaume de Poitiers as a rugged feudal baron, whom one might term Rabelaisian but for his sinister and pungent satire. Capable of gleams of lyric beauty he closes on a singularly pathetic note, God will have mercy on his soul but who will care for his son? Cercamon the stern cleric denouncing the vices of his times is followed by his disciple Marcabru, but both from time to time break into snatches of the sweetest song.

Bernart de Ventadorn and Arnaut de Mareuil both appear as the accepted type of troubadour minstrel, full of passion and poetic fire. Jaufré Rudel is something of a dreamer, Bertran de Born is a warrior - whose armour jingles all through his songs, Arnaut Daniel is a scholar, Peire Vidal a very Ulysses - full of the wisdom of experience, lending himself to all kinds of strange stories, enjoying his reputation somewhat, but not so crazy as people imagine him to be, - and we might continue the list indefinitely. Fifthly, as a general rule, inspiration does not appear to be lacking. The majority of the lyrics give the impression at least of being spontaneous.

In conclusion then we find ourselves still left with the problem - Upon what is the claim of artificiality based and in how far is it justifiable? To begin with, the system of rhyme, versification, and stanza arrangement was tremendously involved, and this was bound to hamper expression and to cramp free development of ideas in a certain measure. But at the same time, we must remember that the troubadours were taught at an early age to use these complicated forms and what seems to us an unnatural maze of rules was to them a natural and accustomed vehicle of poetic expression. On the other hand, we are bound to admit, there certainly were poets who sang without real inspiration, and for selfish motives; those who desired

a favour at the hands of their feudal lord, or who were eager for worldly advancement in one form or other. Of such the most noted certainly are Raimon Miraval and Folquet de Marselha, while Guiraut de Salignac and other minor troubadours of the same type are not far to seek. Their poems are an arid waste of fantastic conceits and jingling contrivances. Now the malady which has claimed them utterly may taint from time to time sundry other minstrels, but judging from what can be read and studied in their works, in no way does the whole school seem guilty of artificiality. The troubadours have a trenchant realism and rational good sense which save them from the pitfalls to which their own poetic methods expose them. When we come to make a detailed examination of the texts care therefore will always be taken to point out from concrete example how, in reality, the troubadours are not readily either monotonous or artificial.

VI.

At this time it is imperative to take into account the discussion which took place during the actual life of the poetry, on the respective merits of "trobar clus" and "trobar clar." It will be readily realised that these two types of writing were "genres" within a "genre," and that they both possessed the salient characteristics of the literature as a whole.

The obscure style of writing probably originated in

the same way as did the 'senhal,' namely that the writer must endeavour to conceal at all costs his lady's identity. Thus with this idea in mind he wrote his poems in such a way that few could understand them. But there was also a very real desire for what the troubadour regarded as scholarly attainment. Many poets refer from time to time to the inaccuracy and slipshod mode of the "joglars" and express a desire that they may be free from such defects. This point is further commented on by Chaytor in his 'Troubadours' (p. 36). "A further reason for complexity of composition is given by the troubadour Peire d'Auvergne: 'He is pleasing and agreeable to me who proceeds to sing with words shut up and obscure, to which a man is afraid to do violence.' The 'violence' apprehended is that of the joglar who might garble a song in the performance of it, if he had not the memory or industry to learn it perfectly, and Peire d'Auvergne commends compositions so constructed that the disposition of the rimes will prevent the interpolation of topical allusions or careless alteration. The similar safeguard of Dante's terza rima will occur to every student."

This desire for complicated expression which the troubadour regarded as the height of attainment, betokens a childish naïveté which is characteristic of the Middle Ages. It

is undoubtedly true that certain minstrels strove to make their poetry obscure because they thought that it became thereby better poetry, and also, because they did not wish it to be the common property of all and sundry. Thus Giraut de Borneil says:-

"Mas per mielh's assire
mon chan,
vau cercan
bos motz enfre
que son tuit cargat e ple
d'us estranhs sens natural's;
Mas no sabon tuich de cal's."

At the same time it must be borne in mind that this excessive intricacy of style only applied to a certain number of troubadours. They all, with the exception of impetuous poetesses such as the Comtess de Die, polished and "limed" their verse. Guillaume IX. even refers to the workshop from which he draws his compositions, but there are comparatively few who pride themselves on their "trobar clus." Arnaut Daniel is regarded as being the past master of this art, but according to the modern critic M. Lavaudan, many of his obscurities may now be explained by dialectal peculiarities which still exist in the *patois* of Perigord. Thus Arnaut Daniel may be much less precious in style than has hitherto been supposed.

Now there was, as we saw above, an opposition school of

"trobar clar," and curiously enough Giraut Borneil became one of the instigators of this movement. We possess a most interesting tensone between the latter and Linhaure (Rambaut d'Orange) upon this subject. Unfortunately Linhaure does not, apparently, grasp the point of the argument, so that the two speakers do not succeed in ventilating the matter greatly, or in arriving at any definite conclusion, but the revised views of Giraut afford an interesting study:--

"Era.m platz, Giraut de Borneill,
 que sapcha per c'lanatz blasman
 trobar clus ni per cal semblan.
 aiso.m dignatz
 si tan prezatz
 so que vas totz es cominal?
 car a donx tug seran engal.
 Senher Linhaure, no.m coreill,
 si quex se trob'a son talan;
 mas me eis vueill jutgar d'aitan
 qu'es mais amatz
 chans e prezatz,
 qui.l fai levet e venansal;
 e vos no m'o tornetz a mal
 Giraut, no vueill qu'en tan trepeill
 torn mos trobars que hom am tan
 l'avol co.l bo e.l panc co.l gran
 ia per los fatz
 non er lauzatz,
 quar no conoison, ni lur cal,
 so que plus quar es ni mais val,
 Linhaure, si per aiso veill
 ni mon seiorn torn en afan,
 sembra que.m dopte de mazan,
 a que trobatz
 si no vos platz
 c'ades ho sapchon tal e cal?
 que chans no port' autre capital etc.(1)

(1) Chaytor, 'Troubadours of Dante,' p. 34.

"Chans no port' autre capital" is a very different principle from the one adhered to in Giraut's earlier poems. He repeatedly insists upon the fact that it is just as difficult to express one's self clearly as it is to hide one's meaning in involved and obscure word-patterns, but he was not the only one to sing the praise of "trobar clar." Such later troubadours as Raimon de Miraval and Lanfranc Cigala state the same opinions - the former declares, "Never should obscure poetry be praised, for it is composed only for a price, compared with sweet festal songs, easy to learn, such as I sing," and the latter: "I could easily compose an obscure subtle poem if I wished; but no poem should be so concealed beneath subtlety as not to be clear as day. For knowledge is of small value if clearness does not bring light; obscurity has ever been regarded as death, and brightness as life."⁽¹⁾

It is thus apparent that within the very school of troubadour poetry, there was a strong opinion in favour of clarity and simplicity. As a matter of fact the "trobar clus" was cultivated by a comparatively small coterie. The majority of troubadours wrote their poems as songs, with the intention that these should be sung by joglars. If the song were so obscure that only a few could understand it, surely there would be little point in singing it to the varied audience of a feudal castle. It seems only natural and reasonable to dis-

(1) Chaytor's 'Troubadours of Dante,' p. 39-40.

cover from the texts that by far the greater number of poets have disregarded Peire d'Auvergne's precaution as defeating the main purpose of a song.

II. Resuming then once more the problem of modern criticism, we shall proceed to examine in fuller detail its origins and principal exponents. We shall make it our present aim to study the actual tributes which are certainly paid to Provençal poetry despite the serious condemnations with which we have just dealt.

"Le nom de romantique a été introduit nouvellement en Allemagne, pour désigner la poésie dont les chants des troubadours ont été l'origine, celle qui est née de la chevalerie et du Christianisme." These words of Mme. de Stael written in 1810 mark the first stages of comparative language study. Inspired, doubtless, by the work of the Schlegel brothers with which she was well acquainted, Mme. de Stael was one of the pioneers in the new literary movement, that is to say in the desire for a sympathetic understanding of the literatures of other nations and of other times. She was followed closely by Fauriel, who strangely enough, like Friedrich Schlegel, had made a wide study of Sanskrit and Arabic. The former is perhaps one of the most remarkable men of the early 19th century, he is regarded by Renan as having put more ideas into circula-

tion than any other contemporary writer. After the July Revolution he was appointed a professeur in the Faculté des Lettres at Paris, and during the next few years delivered a series of lectures on the history of Provençal poetry. These lectures were published two years after his death in 1846. The work is mainly historical in character and its critical value lies rather in the treatment of chivalrous romance than in that of lyrical poetry.⁽¹⁾ In a work published considerably later - 'Dante et les origines de la langue et de la littérature italienne,'⁽²⁾ he establishes the fact, however, that the first poetry cultivated in Italy was Provençal poetry- which he refers to as "un système très complexe d'idées et de mœurs qui n'étaient point nées en Italie." At the same time he believes that there was a flourishing Italian literature before the influence of Provençal poetry was felt. He explains the existence of this influence by the aid of historical detail, dealing with the numerous troubadours, who, at various times visited the Italian courts. While we must always regard Fauriel's work as being the great foundation-stone of Provençal criticism, we must remember that it would have been impossible to produce such a book without the labours of Raynouard (1817 - 1821) and the early anthologists (Parnasse Occitanien) who, therefore, in their own way made an infinitely greater achievement.

It was possibly Goethe's reading of the 'Choix de poésies'

(1) cp. Sainte-Beuve 'Portraits Contemporains,' vol. IV.

(2) 1854.

which led to the young Diez' taking up Romance literature and so laying the foundation-stone of scientific romance philology. From his 'Introduction' to Romance poetry published in 1823 Diez pursued an almost uninterrupted course of Provençal research. In 1824 we have 'Die Poesie der Troubadours' (translated into French in 1845), 1829 - 'Leben und Werke der Troubadours.' 1836 - 44, 'Grammar of the Romance Languages' (coinciding with Raynouard's *Lexique Roman*, 1838 - 44), finally in 1853 appears the 'Lexicon of the Romance Languages.' From 1846 - 55 Mahn's 'Werke der Troubadours' is published, to be followed in 1856 - 71 by the 'Gedichte der Troubadours,' which in its turn paved the way for K. Bartsch 'Grundriss zur Geschichte der provenzalischen Literatur' in 1872. Thus a tradition of Provençal culture was established in Germany.

It is interesting to note that in England also, an early interest in Provençal was manifested. As soon as 1825 appears an anonymous book called 'The Lays of the Minnesingers.' The work is by one Edgar Taylor (1793 - 1839, cp. *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*) and provides a very interesting account of the nature of troubadour poetry and its relation to the German minnesingers. Although the title of the book is 'Lays of the Minnesingers' the author spends a little time on the relations between Italian and Provençal poetry. "The Provençal writers must

have been perfectly familiar to the Italians; for their early writers, such as Guittone d'Arezzo (in his letters), Dante and Petrarch, are full of allusions to them, and of the warmest eulogiums on their work. Several of the Italians themselves e.g. Sordel, B. Calco, and Folquet, who, as Petrarch tells us,

"A Marsiglia il nome ha dato,
Ed a Genova tolto -"

were Italians." He even goes so far as to instance a few parallels in the texts. In Diez, 'Poesie der Troubadours' 1824, there are also some parallels given, but as these are not the same as the ones quoted by Taylor, the latter must share the honour of having been the first to establish a real and intimate connection between Italian and Provencal. Taylor, I believe, has the privilege of discovering the "lark" simile in the 'Paradiso.'

p. 222. - Bernart de Ventadorn:

"Quan vey la laudeta mover etc.,"

cp. Dante - Paradiso XX.

"Qual lodetta, che'n aere si spazia
Prima cantando, e poi tace contenta
Dell' ultima dolcezza, che la sazia."

cp. Aimeric de Sarlat:

"Aissi muev mas chansos
Com la laudeta fai,
Que poian haut s'en vai,
Et sus deisen jos;
Pueis pauza s'en lavia,
Chantan:- etc.,"

Although this is the first work to be entirely devoted to the troubadours in the realm of English literary criticism, it must not be imagined that it constitutes the first reference to their contribution to literature. As far back as the end of the seventeenth century Thomas Rymer paid a high tribute to Provençal poetry in his "Short View of Tragedy" (1693). There are occasional mentions in Pope, Blount, Dryden and Collins. Gray made certain notes on the subject for his intended History of Poetry, relying upon Crescimbeni for his information. These notes were later passed on to Thomas Warton and incorporated in his History of English Poetry. In the 'Gentlemen's Magazine' for June and October, 1793 Cary contributed two essays on Provençal poetry and on the writings of some Provençal poets. We know too that Coleridge lectured upon this topic at Flower-de-Luce Court in the year 1818. So that a considerable tradition had grown up in England and it only required the work of Fauriel and Raynouard to call forth such a book as the 'Lays of the Minnesingers.'

In the 'Gentlemen's Magazine' for the year 1782 and 1783 there are two references to Provençal studies. Warton's 'History of Poetry' has received a very harsh criticism at the hands of an anonymous author, Thomas Russell defends one statement of Warton's by proving the existence of Mossen Jordi who was imitated by Petrarch: "As to the other circumstance of Mr. Warton's calling Messen Jordi 'a provincial poet of Valencia,' is the objector ignorant that the Provençal language was spoken in Catalonia, Valencia, Mercia and other places, as well as in the province whence it took its name?"

1783, I. p. 124, contains a reply to an answer provoked by the above. The authority quoted is Velasquez: 'Origines de la Poesia Castellana,' Malaga 1754, and Russell refers also to the Preface of Don Antonio Basteria to 'Crusca Provenzale,' vol. I., Rome 1724. He quotes a passage from the former showing that Provençal was widely spoken in southern Europe, - he explains that Limosin and Provençal mean the same thing

Such statements as these which are purely general in character, give way very soon to criticism of a more scholarly and documented type, notably to that of Scary in his 'Italian Literature to the Death of Dante' (translated 1861), and of course the 'Romanische Literatur.' In the opening lines

(1) Francesco An Barbierio et la littérature provençale en Italie. Paris, 1883.
(2) Romania, V: 257 - 265.

tendait qu'un exemple pour s'épanouir à son tour en pleine lumière.

En Italie la poésie populaire, dont nous avons d'anciens spécimens, ne semble pas avoir beaucoup profité du mouvement suscité par les troubadours. Le grand effort s'est opéré dans le sens de la poésie artistique, et de ce côté les Italiens ont été jusqu'au bout de la voie que leur avaient ouverte les Provençaux, car après les Siciliens de la cour de Palerme ils ont eu les poètes toscans, et parmi eux Dante."

In direct line with this tradition and, indeed, inspired by these very words, A. Thomas wrote in 1883:⁽¹⁾

"Son influence (de la poésie provençale) a franchi non seulement la Loire, mais les Pyrénées et les Alpes, en Espagne et en Italie, l'étude et le culte de la littérature provençale ont précédé la naissance des littératures nationales et l'on a pu dire justement⁽²⁾ 'Ce ne sont pas seulement des sujets ou des formes poétiques que la poésie provençale a transmis à la poésie de l'Espagne et surtout de l'Italie, c'est l'existence même.'"

Such statements as these which are purely general in character, give way very soon to criticism of a more scholarly and documented type, notably to that of Gaspary in his 'Italian Literature to the Death of Dante' (translated 1887), and of course the 'Scuola Popolare Siciliana.' In the opening lines

(1) Francesco da Barberino et la littérature provençale en Italie.' Paris, 1883.

(2) Romania, V. 257 - 268.

of Chap. II., 'The Sicilian School of poetry,' Gasparry says: "In this way, Italy was still without a literature at a time when its western neighbour had already produced two, the Provençal and Old French, each of them well developed. These literatures which were held in high esteem throughout Europe, could not fail to exercise an exceptionally wide influence in a country which was itself comparatively unproductive. The poems of the troubadours inspired the first attempts at lyrical poetry, while the French chansons de geste and romances supplied the subject-matter for narrative poetry, no suitable themes having sprung up on Italian soil. The influence of the troubadours made itself felt earlier than that of the French poems.

The political and commercial relations that had, for ages, existed between Northern Italy and the South of France, paved the way for an intellectual intercourse between the two countries." From this point Gasparry describes fully from an historical point of view the wandering of the Provençal minstrels in Italy. On p. 53 the author proceeds to approach the matter from the literary stand-point - thus: "The troubadours remained in Italy till the end of the thirteenth century, at which time Provençal lyrical poetry, generally, lost all importance. The great impression these poems made, and

the general applause with which they were received, induced native poets to imitate them, and in Northern Italy those who attempted to reproduce the art of the Provençals, also employed for this purpose the Provençal tongue. This language was well-known owing to the manifold relations existing with the South of France, and it was easily learnt, because the dialects spoken in those parts resembled it fairly closely. Besides, it was more natural to adopt the language of the models together with the poetical tradition, than to raise the native dialects, which were still in an uncultivated state, to the dignity of a literary idiom." Then follows an account of the troubadours of Italy. On p. 55 Gaspary resumes: "The work of all these poets is contained in the old collections of the troubadour poetry, where they form a portion of Provençal rather than of Italian literature; the Provençal in which they wrote can scarcely be distinguished from that of the other troubadours. In Southern Italy, on the other hand, at the court of Frederick II., such skill in the use of the foreign tongue could only be acquired with difficulty, and poetry written in it could not have been expected to be generally understood; and so the native 'volgare' was adopted. That is probably the reason why Italian artificial poetry began in Sicily." etc.

In France, the tradition so well established by P. Meyer

and A. Thomas, was upheld by Gaston Paris and A. Jeanroy. Their efforts, however, are almost entirely directed towards the general study of mediaeval poetry, and even in Jeanroy's 'Origines' the Provençal lyrics are not treated from the point of view of their literary influence. It is the question rather of poetic forms which engages the author's attention. In Gaston Paris' very full and documented criticism of the 'Origines' we find the same characteristics. Neither author has treated Provençal poetry as an independent literature, and thus the problem of its influence upon Italian does not come within the scope of these investigations. For a detailed study of the troubadours we must turn to the work of a much later critic, namely Joseph Anglade. In 1908 Anglade published 'Les Troubadours,' the first treatise to be devoted entirely to this subject since the pioneer writings of Diez. The book, deals successively with the social status of the troubadours, their art, the theory of courtly love, the different periods of the school, and finally the influence of Provençal on other literatures, a chapter being consecrated to the role of the minstrels in Italy. Like the similar chapter in Gaspary, referred to above, Anglade begins by showing the easy relations between the South of France and Italy, and describes the constant passage of the troubadours between the two countries.

He insists upon the fact that the Sicilian school is a mere imitation of the Provençal and then proceeds to a discussion of the Italian troubadours - an arrangement which seems somewhat illogical. Then follows an interesting discussion of the relations between the writers of the "dolce stil nuovo" and the Provençal authors, a subject which must be reserved for later mention. After the 'Troubadours' of Anglade, we must not omit to mention the work of M. p. Aubry, 'Trouvères et Troubadours.' This book deals with one particular branch of troubadour lyric poetry, namely, the nature of the music employed by these early minstrels. But the fact that poetic form is so closely associated with musical interpretation in this literature makes the subject one of general interest. In addition many interesting side-lights are thrown upon the character of the Provençal lyric.

The Italian school of criticism embracing the work of such writers as Torraca, Bertoni, Zingarelli, Cian, Novati and Cesareo, will be dealt with later. Their work is not written upon general lines but confines itself entirely to detailed study of individual points of comparison, and to never-ending discussion of those well-worn and apparently insoluble problems which are inextricably bound up with the origins of all literature in general, and of Italian literature in particular.

This brief review of the history of Provençal criticism may be terminated with an examination of Chaytor's 'Troubadours'

published in 1912. The opening chapter begins with the following general remarks:-

"Few literatures have exerted so profound an influence upon the literary history of other peoples as the poetry of the troubadours. Attaining the highest point of technical perfection in the last half of the twelfth and the early years of the thirteenth century. Provençal poetry was already popular in Italy and Spain when the Albigeois crusade devastated the south of France and scattered the troubadours abroad or forced them to seek other means of livelihood. The earliest lyric poetry of Italy is Provençal in all but language; almost as much may be said of Portugal and Galicia; Catalonian troubadours continued to write in Provençal until the fourteenth century. The lyric poetry of the "trouvères" in Northern France was deeply influenced both in form and spirit by troubadour poetry, and traces of this influence are perceptible even in early middle-English lyrics. Finally, the German minnesingers knew and appreciated troubadour lyrics, and imitations or even translations of Provençal poems may be found in Heinrich von Morungen, Friedrich von Hausen and many others. Hence the poetry of the troubadours is a subject of first-rate importance to the student of comparative literature." pp. 1 - 2.

In chapter VII. Chaytor makes a special study of the relations between the troubadours and Italy. "To study the development of troubadour literature only in the country of its origin

would be to gain a very incomplete idea of its influence. The movement, as we have already said, crossed the Pyrenees, the Alps and the Rhine, and Italy at least owed the very existence of its lyric poetry to the impulse first given by the troubadours." From this point the author makes an historical survey of the question on the same lines as that of Gaspary referred to above. After a brief discussion of the Sicilian school and the "*dolce stil nuovo*", he concludes as follows: "Dante's debt to the troubadours, with whose literature he was well acquainted, is therefore the debt of Italian literature as a whole. Had not the troubadours developed their theory of courtly love, with its influence upon human nature, we cannot say what course early Italian literature might have run. Moreover, the troubadours provided Italy and other countries also with perfect models of poetic form. (p. 108)"⁽¹⁾

These closing words of Chaytor's resume what has been said by a long line of critics. The close relationship between early Provençal and Italian lyric poetry is a recognised "*point de repère*" in literary history. Apart however from the discussion of metrical form and the discovery of textual parallels, the problem has not been treated on other than general lines. The purpose of the present thesis is to investigate one particular branch of Provençal-Italian studies, namely the question of rhetorical language. An attempt will be made to

(1) Cp. note on p. 37.

establish the exact relations, in this direction, between the two vernacular literatures.

It is to Dante himself that we must turn for the first conscious acknowledgement of the problem. In section XXV. of the 'Vita Nuova' he takes up the question of personification, notably his own personification of love. He defends this usage on the grounds that it is commonly adopted by Latin poets. If this licence is conceded to the latter it ought undoubtedly to be countenanced in the vulgar "dicitori." "Thus," says Dante, "se alcuna figura o colore rettorico è conceduto a li poete, conceduto è a li rimatori;".....cautiously appending however, "ma non senza ragione alcuna, ma con ragione la quale poi sia possibile d'aprire per prosa."

The argument is somewhat curtailed and shows a sublime disregard of the fundamental laws governing poetry. The vulgar poets before Dante did not ask themselves whether their poetic usages were allowable. They did not look upon poets' licence as a concession, but accepted it as a fact. In one sense, however, the words constitute a wise acknowledgement of the inevitable truth that the way to the early origins of metaphor would be difficult to find and hard to follow.

Contenting ourselves therefore with this prudent dismissal of a subject which involves too many problems of too in-

tricate a nature to admit of their discussion here, we now proceed to "hunt after" those figures and that "rhetoric colour" the use of which we regard as a justifiable privilege of all "dicitori per rima."

Note for p. 35.

"Romanticism," Lascelles Abercrombie, Secker, London, 1926,
pp. 189 - 190.

The passages quoted below seem to express better than any work published hitherto the determining character of Provençal verse. They develop and explain the statement outlined by Chaytor, that poetic form was the great contribution made by the troubadours to literature in general. As I have pointed out elsewhere, the troubadours were in turn indebted to the Goliards in this connection, but this fact makes their achievement none the less. They secured for the vernacular, privileges which up till then had belonged exclusively to Latin. I quote accordingly from Mr. Abercrombie's publication: "The only thing in poetry or music which can be compared with the abstract form of modern painting or sculpture is the prescribed form in Provençal poetry. There is nothing like this in any music which is independent of words, nothing like this in any poetry which precedes the Provençal. There is no music which prescribes an exact form of notes for a certain kind of occasion; there is, outside the Provençal and its descendants, no poetry which prescribes an exact form of words for certain occasions. But in Provence, the paradise of romance, emotion itself took form: and itself was expressed as form in Provençal poetry. Whatever went to substantiate it the form was the all-important thing: whatever the poetry said, it mattered less that it should be intelligible than that it should fulfil perfectly and precisely the abstract form: the form was the real inspiration.....Provençal poetry restricts its humanity in the interests of its unqualifiable formality."

Probable origins of troubadour poetry and figures connected therewith.

Figures which appear to be traditional.

Figures which reveal to us the world in which the troubadour lived.

Figures showing the kind of general knowledge the troubadour possessed.

(1) Romanis V.

Probable origins of troubadour poetry and figures connected therewith.

From a theoretical point of view it is not hard to explain the origin and development of troubadour poetry. The sunny land of Provence, far removed from the battle-fields of the north was a fit cradle for early minstrels. The Southerners were vastly different in temperament from the Franks, essentially peace-loving, they loved to till the soil and to rejoice in the bounty of the earth. The well-known contrast in Raoul de Cain's chronicle between Franks and Provençaux at the crusades shows us how little the latter cared for the art of war: "Par leur industrie, au temps de la famine, ils rendaient plus de services que d'autres plus prompts au combat. A défaut de pain ils vivaient de racines, de cosses même; armés d'un fer, ils fouillaient la terre pour y trouver leur substance - d'où le dicton que les enfants chantent encore: 'Les Franks à la bataille, les Provençaux aux vivres!'" A simple hard-working folk, their instinct was to construct, not to destroy. Under the kindly influence of the southern sun they brought forth in their secluded corner of earth an early civilisation and culture, as fair as it was short-lived. To take another point of view, Paul Meyer⁽¹⁾ and others, see in the

(1) Romania V.

troubadours the direct descendants of the "scurrae," "thymelia." "histriones" and "joculatores" of that Roman society which was so firmly established in hither Gaul. Nothing could be more plausible and more probably true. It is a fact also that in a country which loved pleasure of a more refined description the feudal lords did all they could, from earliest times to encourage these primitive artists. It is to be noted too that even at the most flourishing period of Provençal poetry the "joglar" frequently had a few performing dogs and could execute wonderful feats with table-knives. A. Restori⁽¹⁾, like Paul Meyer, attributes the origin of this poetry to feudalism and the popular "joglar": "Sur la fin du X^e siècle, la féodalité française, méridionale spécialement, adoucit peu à peu les moeurs et la vie; sur le robuste tronc féodal s'ouvre la fleur de la chevalerie et les chanteurs suivent ce mouvement de civilisation. Le jongleur ou histrion, étant passé de la place publique à la salle du château, se transforme en troubadour et poète, de même que le chant de taverne est passé dans la chanson grave et harmonieuse." He continues: "Cette poésie ne reçut rien en héritage de la littérature aulico-latine du Bas-Empire; ni le vers qui repose sur un principe essentiellement différent, ni les diverses dispositions des séries monorimes ou des strophes. Elle est, au contraire, une lente transformation de la poésie populaire qui ne s'amointrit jamais dans le Midi de la France."

(1) 'Hist. della litt. prov.', p. 25.

Be this as it may, one statement of Restori's at least. seems erroneous. I refer to the claim that Provençal poetry received no heritage from aulico-latin poetry. Surely one ought not to disregard the songs of the so-called "Goliardi."⁽¹⁾ The question of these 'Carmina burana' is an interesting one, and at the present moment the field of research has been little explored. The very name has caused much discussion, the most popular theory being that 'Golia' was the "nom de guerre" of Abelard. The poetry was of three kinds: 1. Polemical - consisting principally in scholastic controversy ranging around the quarrels of Abelard, St. Bernard and Alberico. Does not this 'genre' correspond approximately to the serventes? 2. Love poetry in the tradition of Catullus, Tibullus, Horace etc., consisting of sensual poems upon wine, women, song and the dice, largely bacchanalian in character, they embodied travesties of the Mass and even of certain prayers. 3. Satirical - consisting mainly of attacks upon the clergy and upon Rome. This also was a 'genre' cultivated by the troubadours e.g. Peire Cardenal and Guilhem de Figueiras. Now the fact that these Latin poems differ only from their classical ancestors in metrical form, is remarkable. It is undoubtedly a matter which deserves investigation. Bertoni hazards the suggestion that the origin of the metres lies in the early Christo-Syrian hymns. Professor Saintsbury in the 'Flourishing of Romance and Rise of

(1) The Goliardi were disgraced monks who took to minstrelsy as a means of living, on a plane above the ordinary "jongleurs" Their audience was largely composed of students and members of the student classes.

'Allegory' pays a high tribute to the poetry of the Goliards, which he credits with the task of familiarising the educated classes with elaborate stanza forms, and indeed of passing down the classical tradition of 'form' in the widest sense.

Returning to the point at issue, namely the origin of troubadour verse forms, we find it difficult to believe that Provençal poetry could have escaped the influence of this Latin literature. As it is, there does exist a certain amount of available evidence. We call attention, upon this point, to the article of Bertoni 'La poesia dei Goliardi,'⁽¹⁾ from which we take the following extract: "Tra la poesia goliardica e la lirica cortese volgare dell' età di mezzo corrono alcuni rapporti degni d'essere esaminati. I Goliardi erano, in fondo, i giullari della scuola e amavano ogni forma di poesia e di ludo letterario.....(e.g. pastorellas, protests against slanderers etc.). La più volte, si badi, non si tratta di derivazione o di dipendenza diretta, ma d'una specie di parallelismo, che non manca d'avere la sua speciale eloquenza. Anche l'usanza di dar principio ai componimenti amorosi con la descrizione della primavera fa pensare alla poesia francese e provenzale, in cui questo motivo raggiunge il massimo grado di sviluppo. Così, ci riconduce con la mente alla poesia volgare delle origini il magnifico poemetto, già ricordato, su Fillide e Flora, che è chiuso da un guidizio emesso dal tribunale del

(1) 'Poesie e Leggende del medio evo,' p. 25.

Dio d'Amore. Abbiamo già osservato che in questo prezioso e singolarissimo canto è data in amore la prevalenza ai chierici sui "militi" e cavalieri (cp. later Provençal tenzoni). Se da un lato i poeti dei Goliardi si riattaccano alla lirica cortese, sia mostrando di subirne l'incanto, sia esercitando, a sua volta, su essa un innegabile influsso, dall' altro non isdegnano di derivare qualche fresca ispirazione dalla musa del popolo." (The Goliards also used pseudonyms like the "senhals.") Here, surely, there is abundant food for discussion and investigation.

But let us return to Restori's article, from which point we have sadly digressed. It is always comparatively easy to theorise about the possible origins of a language, but historical facts are apt to be strangely disconcerting. Thus, we can find no trace at all of this "slow transformation" of popular poetry, indeed we have scant trace of the existence even, of such a poetry. Apart from the statement in the lives that "Cercamon composed pastorals in the ancient" manner, we have no clue at all, and the words may be as unsubstantial as many others in these Provençal biographies. We like to point to certain forms such as the aubade, the pastorella etc., and say that these are old popular songs or May-day singing-games, but have we any real grounds for saying so? Gaston Paris⁽¹⁾ is the strongest advocate of this theory. He discusses the matter

(1) 'Mélanges de littérature française du moyen âge,' p. 553.

fully in his criticism of Jeanroy 'Origines de la poésie lyrique en France.' "M. Jeanroy a très à propos rattaché nos chansons aux danses qui accompagnaient les fêtes de mai, et il a montré par le rapprochement de la fameuse ballade: 'A l'entrada del tems clar,' et d'un précieux passage de Flamenca, que les femmes chantaient à cette occasion, en dansant, des chansons qui ressemblaient beaucoup aux nôtres. Il n'est pas, à mon avis, allé assez loin dans cette voie et n'a pas suffisamment indiqué le lien encore visible qui rattache aux fêtes du printemps les 'chansons à personnages.' La début de toutes nos chansons, sans exception, se rapporte au printemps et aux circonstances qui l'accompagnent, soit que le printemps, ou avril, ou le temps de Pâques, ou mai surtout, y soit expressément mentionné, soit que le poète se représente cueillant la fleur, ce que l'on faisait comme une sorte de rite au mois de mai, ou, ce qui revient au même comme indication, dans un pré, un bois, un verger, un jardin, près d'une fontaine. Il est évident que cette matière obligatoire et constante ne saurait être fortuite."

This last sentence sums up the total of internal evidence.

Apart from Jeanroy's comparison between Flamenca and "A l'entrada etc.," no external evidence is apparently available. The theory however plausible, and reasonable, remains a hypothesis. There can be no doubt whatever that the early Franks and Provençaux celebrated May-day in the true Latin tradition, but the

point we wish to make is, that no trace remains of the evolution of the dance-songs. It is certainly true that the May-morning introduction to the poems is a relic of the May festival, but what of the poem itself, to which the former is a mere conventional preface? Is the form really a development of the old popular song? When do the elements of chivalry and courtly love come into being? What was the influence of mariolatry and, indirectly, of the Latin hymns in honour of Mary? What of the problem of the christo-Syrian hymns? What of the suggested influence of Arabian civilisation? The troubadour Marcabru, one of the earliest exponents of the school, writes a sustained and complicated allegory which must have been the outcome of long tradition. What was that tradition?

Again, it is comparatively simple to explain the origin of the "joglars" - but then a "joglar" was not a troubadour, and until a later period of the school, the social distinction was very well defined. Guillaume, Count of Poitiers, was doubtless a patron of minstrels, but how comes it that Guillaume himself bursts into lyric song of the most finished and polished order - naïf certainly but characterised by the utmost grace and perfection of form. The Provençal troubadour lyric shows itself to us for the first time, in full flower, we do not see the stages of growth. Evidently, though Guillaume is

the first troubadour known to us, he is not the first troubadour. We cannot forbear making for the second time, the suggestion that the Goliards played a greater role than is commonly believed. One wonders if there is ^a/possibility that French literature went through the same process as did Italian literature a generation later. Possibly in France too, Latin was long regarded as the only suitable literary vehicle, to the detriment of the vulgar. Possibly, an early group of minstrels transformed form and content into their own tongue from Latin, as did the Sicilians from the Provençal.

However, it is not our province here to deal with this teasing problem of complicated form, versification and rhyme; an elaborate system which so little resembles the fragment on Boèce and the early lives of the saints which are our first Provençal monuments in verse, clearly, it is an old art, much too old to have been produced unaided by such a young language as Provençal.

Turning to the content of the poetry and more particularly to the figures, conjecture is found to be possible. There is a certain group of figures which occur in all troubadours to a greater or lesser degree and which undoubtedly spring from the early origins of the poetry, they have their roots in some far away religious holyday when young and old trooped forth to

greet the return of spring, and sang as they danced through the meadows. Bertoni⁽¹⁾ describes the festival as follows: "Nell'antichità il culto della natura si manifestò in modo non dissimile presso tutte le genti ariane. Le feste della primavera, a maggio, quando più ride la terra e pare che amor 'piova da tutti i cieli' furono tra i Romani, i Greci e i Germani uno degli episodi più magnifici e deliziosi della celebrazione dei riti dei campi e delle foreste.....Le feste del maggio perdurarono nel tempo e con esse si trasmise ai popoli neolatini la gentile usanza di celebrarle con la musica e con la poesia, la quale ultima ripeteva ormai i vecchi motivi delle nuove forme volgari e lampellava, sempre giovane e fresca dalla inesauribile vena del sentimento popolare. Tutta codesta lirica d'occasione, affidata alla sola memoria, si sarebbe presto perduta, se la novissima società aristocratica feudale non se ne fosse impadronita e non l'avesse elevata, per così dire, a forma d'arte." In the same connection Gaston Paris⁽²⁾ writes: "Non seulement, aux jours du renouveau, et particulièrement le premier mai, on allait aux bois 'quérir le mai,' on s'habillait de feuillage, on rapportait des fleurs à brassées, on ornait de violettes les portes des maisons, mais c'était le moment où, sur la prairie verdoyante, les jeunes filles et les femmes menaient des rondes pour ainsi dire rituelles etc.....

(1) Op. cit. pp. 41 and 43.

(2) Op. cit. pp. 597 and 599.

Les fêtes de mai remontent certainement à l'époque païenne, et elles en ont conservé l'empreinte. C'étaient des fêtes consacrées à Vénus; on y célébrait sans réserve son empire sur les coeurs, on y enseignait ses leçons. Le 'Pervigilium Veneris,' imitation artistique des chansons qui égayaient ces fêtes, nous en montre parfaitement l'esprit.

'Cras amet qui numquam amavit, quique amavit cras amet!'

Il est donc naturel que l'amour ait été célébré avec le printemps, dans les chants qui accompagnaient les danses de mai."

Thus the Provençal lyrics open with a conventional description of early spring and the description of the lady which follows is part of the picture. The leaves are green, the hawthorn is in bloom, the birds are singing. The Lady is red like the rose, fresh as the lily - love for her grows and blossoms like the hawthorn bough. Quotations might be multiplied indefinitely, but as all run, more or less, in the same groove, one full example may serve to illustrate the phenomenon. Let us quote from Arnaut de Mareuil, one of the sweetest of all the singers:

Poem to Adélaïde de Toulouse, épouse de Rogiers II. of
Béziers. (1)

"Donna, la genser criatura
Que anc formes el mon natura,
Melhor que non pose dir ni sai,
Plus bela que bels jorns de mai

(1) Bartsch p. 102. II.

Solelhs de mar, ombra d'estiu
 Roza de mai, ploja d'abriu,
 Flors de beutat, miralhs d'amor,
 Claus de piu pretz, escrins d'onor,
 Mas de do, capdels de joven
 Cims et razitz d'ensenhaemen
 Cambras de joi, loes de domnei,
 Donna, mas jointas, vos soplei;
 Prendes m'al vostr'amor.

 e.l vostre fron plus blanc que lis

la fassa fresca de colors,
 Blanca, vermelha plus que flors
 Petita boca, belas dens,
 Plus claras qu'eseneratz argens,
 Menton e gola e peitrina
 Blanca com neus ni flors d'espina,

 Belazors que plors que nais, (1), (2)
 E de cortezia plena;

No comment upon this passage is necessary - it is instinct with the joy of living and the beauty of spring. There is something to be noted in addition, however, a phenomenon which was an integral part of troubadour tradition and is exceedingly important, namely the moral qualities of the lady - physical beauty is not enough - there must be moral and spiritual beauty as well. Thus it is a long long way back to the popular origin of this poetry - popular poetry has no ideals such as this. Arnaud de Mareuil's lady is better than anything that could be said or told, she is the root of wisdom, she is full of courtesy, and this ideal of moral excellence persists along with the May morning atmosphere as something essentially belonging to troubadour poetry. so that if the poetry

(1) Bartsch p. 102 I.

(2) A full list of these figures will be found on page

did spring from popular song some new and transforming spirit has invaded it. There are thus two far-reaching roots, one the worship of spring - the beauty of awakening nature, the other an ideal of womanly beauty and nobility. These are the two striking features which combined set troubadour poetry apart from the civilisation and traditional outlook of the ancient world. And in this connection before proceeding further a brief digression is necessary. The position of women from the eleventh century onwards in the South of France was a unique one. In society there was no place except for married women, thus the troubadour's homage was always paid to such. The word "homage" is appropriate because the troubadour's relation towards his lady was a feudal convention. Very often the lady was a great land-owner herself as, in the South of France, there was no law that women should not hold the land. In order to avoid the scandal which otherwise would have become rife, the troubadour was not allowed to name his lady - she must be called by a pseudonym. There was yet another element - namely a religious one. The cult of the Virgin Mary became very early popular in Provence and exercised a tremendous influence upon the attitude to women. Now this was an extraordinarily artificial state of affairs and a very false position. The problem has been dealt with so often before that it would be unsuitable for me to dwell on it further here. Sufficient

to say that the age was not a licentious one relatively and that this in itself is a lasting tribute to the troubadour spirit.

But it is necessary, at this juncture, to mention a phenomenon which has often been commented upon, and which constitutes a serious stumbling-block to many critics. Throughout the first era of troubadour poetry, and in certain parts of the last movement, there runs an extraordinarily coarse vein. Alongside this lofty ideal of womanly beauty and "ensenhamen" there exists a coarse and undisciplined passion. The shock of contrast is very great, the reader never becomes quite reconciled to it, it is always with a certain sense of incongruity that we see the hairy, cloven-hoofed satyr hobbling at the feet of the "madonna." Yet, after all, the combination of these two elements is not incongruous. The troubadour was amoral, not immoral, the new conception of woman was an ideal to which he was incapable of conforming as yet, but which he nevertheless strove to exalt. The distinction between various types of love is only reached at a late stage in the movement, it is the immediate result of the teaching of the church, but the first troubadours were unconscious of any such distinction, they were not themselves aware of any incongruity in their feelings. This is a point, however, which we must reserve for further discussion in a following section. (See section on Love).

PP185-189.

In conclusion then each troubadour had as part of his



equipment a store of what we might call epithetical figures, on one side harking back to the dim origins of his song, and on the other embodying a new ideal of womanly beauty and virtue.

Figures of speech which appear to be traditional.

The element of conventionality in troubadour poetry seems to me to have been grossly overrated, at least where figures of speech are concerned. As will be seen from the preceding section, the group of figures belonging peculiarly to troubadour tradition is relatively small. In surveying the texts one is constantly struck with the variety of metaphor and simile and with the striking individuality of each poet. Amid the wide selection of figures it is possible to group a few which are apparently traditional: namely, 1. the rose. 2. the ship of life and the harbour, 3. fire, 4. the road, 5. certain rivers.

Let us take first of all the rose.⁽¹⁾ No one could say how long it is since the rose was first regarded as the fairest

(1) Giornale Storico. XXI., p.435 - summary of book by Charles Joret - 'La rose dans l'antiquité et au moyen âge; histoire, légende et symbolisme.' Paris, 1892. p. 436. Il primo ricordo di questo fiore occorre nei più antichi monumenti poetici della Grecia. Però il nome non è indigeno Greco; la forma etolica *ῥόδον* si conette coll'armena "vard," che suppone una forma zendica "vareda," fiore, donde forse la voce Greca. Tale origine ne riporta all'altopiano dell'Iran; e appunto nel Caucaso orientale e nel Khorer-distan fu trovata allo stato spontaneo la rosa dalle cento foglie, mentre nelle regioni occidentali dell'Iran essa raggiunge le dimensioni più notevoli; questa fu senza dubbio la sua culla, e di qui penetrò, attraverso l'Asia Mi-

of all flowers, from earliest times it has been the emblem of beauty. In the western world it holds the same place as the lotos in the east. It has a peculiar prestige and virtue which mere beauty could not give it - there are many flowers as lovely as the rose but none with the same subtle and mysterious potency. Our early fathers knew the secret of its spell, but we have forgotten the clue while we still acknowledge its efficacy:

-nore, in Grecia, e, attraverso la Mesopotamia, in Siria e in Palestina. Essa fu nota anche ai Romani chi la coltivarono insieme colla rosa gallica (la rose di Provins).

Nella poesia dei Greci e dei Romani.....

Essa si considerava come appartenente soprattutto agli Dei; col mirto deviene l'attributo d'Afrodite, che è rappresentata sovente con ghirlande di rose. Ma anche ad altri Dei fu consacrato questo fiore; al dio d'Amore, a Dionysos, alle Grazie, alle Muse, ad Ebe e Ganimede. Grande importanza aveva esso nelle festi di Flora per essere l'emblema della stagione dei fiori: note sono le feste di rose a Capua e a Roma nel mese di maggio. La rosa non è mai dimenticata nelle descrizioni che i poeti lasciarono della primavera; essa è detta la regina dei fiori, il simbolo e l'emblema della bellezza, della fugacità sua, delle fragilità delle cose del mondo, dell'innocenza e del pudore delle vergini. I poeti greci e latini accoppiano nei loro canti alla rosa il giglio; nel candore di questo essi vedono l'immagine della purezza immacolata della fanciulla etc. Però i poeti dell'antiquità non arrivarono come quelli del medio evo al punto di personificare nella rosa la dama del loro cuore, sebbene si rinvenga nella lingua popolare qualche traccia di ciò: "la mia rosa" fu detto da Plauto per designare una persona cara. Ma ciò non toglie che gli antichi non abbiano fatto del nostro fiore l'emblema dell'amore e l'attributo delle sue divinità, Imeneo, Venere etc. Consacrata a Bacco, la rosa fu simbolo della gioia dei banchetti, dell'allegrezza, del

"O no man knows,
Through what long centuries
Roves back the rose."

In the Provençal orchard the rose reigns supreme. One of the earliest known troubadours, Cercamon, says of his lady:

"Bell' e blancha plus c'us hermis,
Plus fresca que rosa ne lis;"

Now the idea of "freshness" certainly belongs to conventional mannerism, but the choice of the rose is a traditional instinct. The next appearance of the rose in order of time is in the passage already quoted from Arnaud de Mareuil where he speaks of "roza de mai." (Notice that for the troubadour, the rose blooms in May.) Giraut de Bornelh follows with:

"L'anc de rozeus no nasquet flors
Plus fresca....."

piacere e poscia della mollezza. Ma ciò nullameno le resta un significato simbolico nobile e grave; essa è simbolo del merito e dell' eccellenza degli uomini; ai vincitori nelle gare poetiche e nelle lotte guerresche essa è data in premio. E l'usanza di fiori sulle tombe dei morti fece della rosa insieme colle viole e il giglio, un emblema funebre. Il colore mette la rosa in rapporto coll' aurora; di color roseo e anche il fuoco che esce dalle narici dei cavalli del sole; rosea è la stella di Venere, rosei gli astri, rosee le parti del corpo umano e specialmente quelle del viso. Gli antichi contrasero l'abitudine di vivere circondati di rose; donde la frase: "vivere sulle rose," voleva dire "vivere felice."

Introduction of christianity and barbarian invasions were a mortal blow to the rose - but not for long - cultivated in monastery gardens to adorn the altars - favourite of Charlemagne and of Albertus Magnus - cultivation of it spread all over Europe (N.B. Paris and Provins).

which is in short the same as the example from Cercamon. Peire d'Auvergne says:

"Que cum resplan roz' en rozier
Gensetz d'autra flor de vergier,
Sobra sobre totz jois sos jais
Del maior gaug qu'anc nais ni nais."(1)

Joy such as this demands the emblem of the rose. The whimsical Peire Vidal speaks of the rose oftener than any other troubadour. His first example is:

"Que bel' es sobre las gensors
Plus que roza sobr' outras flors;"

which is a more subdued echo of Peire d'Auvergne. Here is a new adaptation:

La rosa nelle leggende e nella poesia dell' oriente durante il medio evo. La rosa e l'usignuolo -
Alcuni popoli orientali ebbero per la rosa una profonda venerazione; per i Maomettani essa era nota del sudore medesimo di Maometto; in Persia era signo della castità conservata, simbolo della costanza in amore, emblema dell' affetto conservato anche nella morte; dal secolo XI - XV la poesia persiana canta le lodi di questo fiore, il quale ha una parte pure notevole nella poesia araba e ancor più nell' ottomana. Ma i poeti della Persia non si sono limitati a cantare nella rosa la regina dei fiori, a farne, come i loro precursori di Grecia e di Roma, il simbolo della bellezza e della grazia; essi le hanno data una vita reale e le hanno posto accanto l'usignuolo come suo ammiratore ed amico: la rosa è la regina della bellezza nell' impero dei fiori, l'usignuolo il re degli uccelli cantori; ambedue i compagni inseparabili della primavera, la stagione della giovinezza e della gioia. Là dove la rosa fiorisce, quivi scioglie l'usignuolo il suo canto; egli narra a lei i suoi amori, ed ella noncurante della vita non si commove ai lamenti del compagno fedele.

(1) Zenker p. 84.

".....cela qu'en leis nais
Es fresca com roz' en pascor."

Notice again that to the troubadour the rose is not the flower of summer as it is to us, it is part of the mysterious beauty of his May morning. "The rose at Easter" he says - foreshadowing the early beginning of the religious connection of the flower and he says so again later:

"Que roza de Pascor
Sembla de sa color."

Lastly we have the only reference to the sweet scent of the rose and the figure is a subtle one:

"Quar vostre dig e vostre plag
M'an sabor de roza de mag."

La rosa nelle leggende cristiane.

I primi dottori della chiesa la proscrivono come la compagna del lusso e della crapula; ma essa è presto riabilitata. Nelle descrizioni del Paradiso terrestre non manca quasi mai, e S. Basilio e S. Ambrosio suppongono che essa colà non avesse spine, spuntate solo dopo il peccato di Adamo ed Eva.....La rosa è da scrittori mistici del medio evo considerata come il premio di ogni nobile e bella azione, l'emblema di ciò che v'era di più augusto e di più venerato nelle credenze cristiane; si che essa devine il simbolo e l'attributo di Cristo e della Vergine..... Quando Maria si manifesta agli uomini, le rose spuntano sotto a' suoi piedi; ella se ne adorna volentieri; salendo al cielo ella ne lascia pieno il sepolcro; anzi è ella stessa una rosa bianca per la sua verginità, vermiglia per la sua carità. E i poeti religiosi abuseranno di questa similitudine; per essi la Vergine è rosa pazienza, rosa senza spine, rosa mistica, come in coro ripetono anche i poeti provenzali e francesi, tedeschi, spagnuoli ed italiani.

This is coming surely very near to the odour of sanctity.

Guilhelm de St. Leidier (or Didier), one of the minor troubadours gives us a slightly different point of view:

"E m'agensa a chascun jorn de l'an
Cum la roza, quant ilh nais de novelh;" (1)

The love of nature was deep-rooted in the hearts of the minstrelsy, this brief reference to the poet's joy on seeing the newly opened rose is a significant detail.

In Elias Barjols, another troubadour of humbler character, we have the bare and unadorned genesis of the series:

"E vostre beutat qu'es aitals (2)
Cum belha rosa....."

Finally we have another typical example from an anonymous author:

"Fresca sa colors cum rosa de mai," (3)

In all these figures it is the beauty and freshness of the rose which is called to mind. But the rose began early to have another significance. The easter rose came to be the flower peculiarly sacred to Mary. This was not an unnatural development. The cult of the Virgin was one of the most striking features of the age. We are inclined to regard it as a later phenomenon of troubadour poetry, as belonging exclusively to the thirteenth century, but I do not think we are justi-

(1) R: III:; p: 301:

(2) R: III:; p: 353:

(3) Appel, p. 85.

fied in doing so. For example Peire d'Auvergne admittedly belongs to the old school, he was regarded as the master of the old style until Giraut de Bornelh began to write in "verses," and his dates are given as 1155 - 1215. But Peire d'Auvergne bursts into lyric praise of the Virgin with a fervour and abandon to which his earthly lady could not inspire him:

"Reina del firmamen,
 La vostra verginitatz,
 Per qu'es totz lo mons salvatz,
 Mi gar l'arma e.l cor e.l sen
 e.m do qu'ien viva leials
 e.m defensa de totz mals,
 qu'un non fassa ni non dia
 re, si a dieu non plazia,
 e lais mi de ben far tan
 que, quan morrai, l'arma.sn'an⁽¹⁾
 en la vostra companhia."

This of course is written in a purely religious spirit, but it is very important because it shows that even with the early troubadours Mary was held in high esteem - she was the queen of women, the rose. Henry Adams in his book 'Mont Saint Michel and Chartres' gives an interesting account of how the Virgin influenced the building of the great cathedrals. The rose windows were constructed in her honour; and he tells us how the master mason of Chartres allowed his sense of proportion to go astray in forming his great Western wheel: "The architect has managed to deceive our eyes, in order to enlarge the rose; but you can see as plainly as if he were here to tell you, that he has concentrated his whole energy on the rose, be-

(1) Zenker p. 154.

cause the Virgin has told him that the rose symbolised herself, and that the light and splendour of her appearance in the West were to redeem all his awkwardnesses."⁽¹⁾ The great Western rose which gives the motive for the whole decoration and is repeated in the great roses of the transepts, marks the Virgin's will - the taste and knowledge of "cele qui la rose est des roses," or if you prefer the Latin of Adam de St. Victor, the hand of her who is "super rosam rosida." This certainly refers to the North of France, but North and South were one in their devotion to Mary. At a later point we shall have an opportunity of discussing the development of this cult more fully, we have only one point in mind just now - namely, that for the troubadour the rose was something as nearly approaching a symbol as we can find in a literature which was not in its nature symbolical. When the minstrel compared his lady to a rose he was thinking not only of the beauty and freshness of the flower, but of the moral beauty and the sweet odour of sanctity suggested by the emblem of the queen of heaven.

In closing we might give a figure from a troubadour of the transition period, Perdigon whose date is 1200- - 1250-. Here we have already the Virgin taking the place of the earthly mistress - vastly different in treatment from the passage quoted from Peire d'Auvergne - it shows the continuation of a tradition,

(1) p. 112.

rather than a change of spirit:

"Regina d'auteza
E de senhoria,
La vostra franqueza
A.l mon en baillia;
De tot boneza
Etz roz' espandia
Quar en vos s'es meza
Gracia floria;
Sel frug fon veray
Qu'intret abillo ray
En vos, dona pia,
Quan l'angel venc sai."(1)

The figure of the ship is one which excites very little comment. So long as men have ridden the seas, storm and shipwreck and safe home-coming have lent themselves admirably to metaphor. The troubadours were not a seafaring people and so figures of this type were not common, but many of them had been at the crusades and they knew what it meant to arrive at the desired haven. A figure which is epic essentially by virtue of its very simplicity and spaciousness. it adorned the troubadours' song in not a few instances. Taking the quotations again in order of time the first one is from Bernart de Ventadorn:

"Tan n'aten bon esperansa
Ves que panc m'aonda
Qu'atressi sui en balansa
Cum la naus en l'onda."(2)

The next is the much discussed quotation from Geoffroi Rudel in

(1) R. IV., p. 421.

(2) Barstch, p. 67.

which he says:

"Lai m'irai el sen repaire,
Laire.
Em peril qom de passar Mar;"

Some believe this to be a statement of fact, others see in it a further link in the chain of circumstances from which the romantic story of his love has been formed. Arnaut de Mareuil gives us a touch of realism such as we constantly find in troubadour poetry:

"Preyar no us aus per enten de jauzir,
Aissi cum selh qu'es nafratz per murir,
Sap que mortz es, e pero si s combat,
Vos clam merce ab cor dezesperat."(1)

And again, in Raimon de Toulouse:

"Non pose aver joi ni deport
Peritz sui si non veng al port;"(2)

In Giraut de Bornelh we find a figure which has a double interest as it shows a direct connection with a classical parallel:(3)

"E d'altra part sui plus despers
Per sobramar
Rue naus, can vai torban per mar
Destrecha d'ondas e de vens;"(4)

(1) R. III., p. 223.

(2) Barstch p. 103.

(3) The connection referred to will be explained in the classical section.

(4) Kolsen p. 60.

Bertran de Born:

"Anc naus en mar, quan a perdut sa barga
E a mal temps e vai curtar a.l ranc
E cor plus fort qu'una saietta d'arc
E leva en aut e puois aval jos tomba,
No trais anc pieis, etc."

A powerful and dramatic figure, worthy of the pen of Bertran de Born.

With Guiraut de Calanson we again feel the joy of coming safe into port:

"Tan vos am leyalmen,
Fermes de dopt e partitz,
Cum perilhatz gueritz
A mala mar,
Quant a bon port lo mena belhs auratges."

Is not the application of the figure somewhat odd? Guillaume Adhémar gives us two figures of a like nature:

"Ai douss' amia,
Guidatz me a bon port;
Si dieus vos benezia." (1)

The second is a little more elaborate and at the same time somewhat obscure:

"Eras (now) ai dieu a bon port de salut,
Fe qu'ien vos dei, mon navel aribat,
Et ai lo plour e l'estanh(?) recrezut (abandonné)
Et per fin aver mon argent cambiat;"

(1) R. III., p. 193.

We see again in Peire Vidal how very present to these early travellers was the fear of wind and wave:

"Atressi co.l perilhans
 Que sus en l'aiga balansa
 Que non a conort de vida,
 Tan sofre greu escarida,
 Que paors li tol membransa,
 E pois quan ven a bon port
 Per astre o per socors:
 Tot aitals astres m'a sors,
 Per qu'eu ai assatz razo
 De far novela chanso."

In the last phase of troubadour poetry the idea of a "safe haven" was applied to Mary as were many other typical figures. Guillaume d'Autpol calls her "Portz ses peril, porta de salvan port,"⁽¹⁾ Lastly we have a brief reference in Riquier (- Anglade's Thesis)

"Que non es hom tan pecx, sol ben ames,
 Que no.l menes amors a valent port."

Fire was a favourite figure with the troubadours and surely it is one which we might well deem traditional. Curiously enough the figure was not a common one in classical Latin poetry. I know of only one example,⁽²⁾ from Catullus - "a thrill as of flame passes down my quivering frame" (LI. "Ille mi par esse etc. "). For the Latin poet, one supposes, fire must have had other associations and possibly a merely religious significance.

(1) R. IV., p. 473.

(2) But there were others, Stronkipp. 78 - 79, - one or two mentions in Ovid.

Fire probably meant to him, the flame on the altar. For the troubadour it had no such connection, for him it retained all the cogency of its elemental simplicity.

One of the finest figures in all troubadour poetry is this earliest one from Marcabru - Marcabru, who is so often merely associated with harsh satire and moralising allegory, is capable of producing flowers of lyric beauty:

"Amors vai com la belluja
Que coa.l fuec en la suja
Art lo fust e la festuja,
- Escoutatz! -
En non sap vas qual port fuja,
Cel qui del fuec es gastatz."⁽¹⁾

Alongside this original and very beautiful figure we find the simple genesis of the expression as in the next writer, Cabestaing. "El fuec que m'art," he says;⁽²⁾ and again in Augier,

"On mais vos bays, doussa res, e vos toc,
Ien m'en vau plus prion en aisselh foc."⁽³⁾

Arnaut de Mareuil gives us rather a quaint touch:

"Lo premier jorn, donna, que.us vi,
M'entret el cor vostr' amors si
Qu'ins en un foc m'aves assis,
C'anc no mermet, pos fon empris:
Focs d'amor es qu'art e destrenh
Que vins ni aigua no.l destenh."

Peire Vidal has the greatest number of "fire" figures, which is

(1) Déjeanne XVIII., III.

(2) R. III., p. 109.

(3) R. III., p. 104.

certainly not surprising. His restless, passionate nature must have found a strange affinity in a flickering tongue of flame. His first figure is trenchant and realistic:

"Abrazor e cremar
Me fai com focs carbo."(1)

His second has a bearing on the strange natural philosophy of the middle ages - the crystal of snow which brings forth fire:

"Teurai m'a l'us de l'envios romen,
Que quier e quier, car de la freida neu.
Nais lo cristals, don han trai foc arden:
E per esfortz venson li bon sufreu."(2)

With this is to be compared the following one:

"E poiran s'en conortar
En mi tuit l'autr' amador,
Qu'ab sobreforsiu labor
Trac de neu freida foc clar
Et aigua doussa de mar."(3)

Peire, then, is a necromancer in love, a heart of snow can produce for him the flame of passion. Notice that the last two lines are really proverbial.

Later we have two mere mentions of the fire of love, the first contained in a greater figure.(4)

Going on to a later troubadour, Folquet de Marselha, we have a figure of a totally different stamp. Folquet de Marselha

(1) Jeanroy p. 64.

(2) " p. 77.

(3) " p. 90.

(4) " p. 111 and p. 137.

and Raimon de Miraval are the two troubadours who are most largely to blame for the reputation of artificiality which has been attached so unfortunately and so unjustly to troubadour poetry. In the first example it will be seen that Folquet is striving for effect by developing the conceit of contradiction or contrast - the result is banal and wearisome - how unlike the freshness and spontaneity of Marcabru! The mistake made by the vast majority of critics lies in supposing that the greatest number of figures were like those of Folquet, whereas in reality the contrary is the case. Here then is Folquet's concoction:

"Ar aujatz gran folor:
 Qu'arditz sui per paor,
 Mas tan ~~tem~~ la dolor
 d'amor que m'a saizit
 Qu'aisso.m fai plus ardit
 de mostrar mon talen
 A lieis que.m fai vellar durmen;
 Doncs, ai per paor ardimen,⁽¹⁾
 (aissi com sel qu'estiers no pot gaudir
 Que vai totz sols entre cinc cens ferir.")

His poems contain one other fire figure which really does not excite comment:

"Que l'ardors mi creis e.m reve,
 E.l fuex, qui.l mon sai que creis a pando,
 E qui no.l mon, mor en pauc de Sazo."⁽²⁾

With Peyrols we come to a new development, the familiar figure of the metals is blended with that of fire and we get an almost

(1) Stronski p. 13
 (2) " p. 30.

Biblical reminiscence:

"No farai ieu ja per ver,
Que'l flama qu'amors noyris
M'art la nueg e 'l dia,
Per qu'ien devenh tota via
Cum fai l'aurs el fuec plus fis."

Arnaut Daniel gives us two figures, each with a slightly distinctive note. The first one tells us how the fire of love burns even in the marrow of his bones:

"Car si m'art dinz la meola
Lo fuocs non vuoill que s'escanta;"(1)

The second one runs thus:

"D'amor mi pren penssan lo fuocs
El desirirs doutz e coraus;
El mals es saboros qu'ieu sint
Eil flama soaus on plus m'art:"(2)

The last two lines are not to be confused with the conceit of the "contrast" employed by F. de Marselha. They simply point to the two-fold nature of love, but Arnaut is the only troubadour who has expressed the idea. The adjective is applied with a masterly touch.

Richard de Barbézieux is the first to use the comparison of the fire of hell:

"Qu'aissi cum selh qu'el fuec d'ifern s'espren
E mor de set ses joy e ses clardat,

(1) Canello p. 104.

(2) " p. 112.

"Vos clam merce, quar tem n' aiatz peccat,
Si m'ausizetz, pus res no us mi defen."

Finally with Miraval we once more encounter artificial conceit:

"Dins el cor me nais la flama
Qu'eis per la boc' en chantan,"

Surely this is rather fantastic.

In closing this section it is not unfitting to remember the famous incident in "Tristan and Iseut" where the love-philtre is partaken of. The troubadours were all familiar with the tale of these unhappy lovers and for them love must always have been something in the nature of a magic potion which ran like fire through their veins.

The figure of the road is used almost without exception in troubadour poetry, in an allegorical sense, and nearly always it is used with the qualifying adjective "dreitz" to form the exact equivalent of the scriptural "narrow way." We must remember, however, that to the troubadour love was a religion, and that to him the "straight path" means the "straight path of love." It is only in troubadours of the last manner that we find the expression in its original significance, where for instance Gu. d'Autpol calls the Virgin "via di salvamen."⁽¹⁾ Let us take one typical example of the troubadour's use of the expression, an example which really explains in itself the new

(1) R. IV., p. 473.

conception of the pilgrim way of love. I quote from Richard Barbézieux:

"Aissi ven bes apres dolor,
Et apres gran mal jauzimen,
E rics joys apres marrimen,
E loncs repans apres labor,
E grans merces per sufrir ses contendre,
Qu'aissi sec hom d'amor los dregz amis;
E qui la sier di cor e no y guandis,
At tal gienh pot hom ben amor perprendre." (1)

One other example of a different order is worthy of note; it is from Giraut de Bornelh:

"Sol c'Amors me plevs
C'aissi co. lh fora fis
M'atendes Comvimens
Enquer me trobera
Drech en sa charrera."

This idea of crossing the path of love is a new one. Could there possibly be any connection between it and the passage in Dante?

"Cavalcando l'altr'ier per un cammino,
Pensoso de l'andar che mi sgradia,
Trovai Amore in mezzo de la via (2)
In abito leggier di peregrino."

The treatment of rivers in troubadour poetry is almost entirely confined to proper names. But there is one generic idea predominant; it is contained in the conception of the Nile. The Nile seems to have symbolised "the river" to the Middle

(1) R. III., p. 457.

(2) V. N. IX.

Ages. If the troubadour wished to think of a river in a general way he thought always in terms of the Nile. Further, the Nile seems to have signified to him the uttermost parts of the east, the east as far east as one can go; he is fond of saying "From the Nile to the setting sun." Why the Nile should be fraught with a certain element of mystery is not hard to explain. It is the mystery of the Egyptian religion - the worship of Isis and Horus which was so popular in eastern Europe and Italy during the Roman Empire. The cult had left a profound impression which has persisted even to our own day. Despite the crusades, the Jordan meant little to the troubadour, his own glorious river the "Rhône" he never dreamt of mentioning.⁽¹⁾ This predominance of the Nile was further reinforced by the queer notions about geography which were prevalent in the Middle Ages. In this connection Carducci makes a very interesting note which I should like to quote: Carducci is discussing Dante's 'Tre Donne' in 'Poesia e Storia.' p. 29.

"Nile. Simbolo d'una generazione arcana e remota dal conoscere nostro e dal principio dell' umana società, e fatto sorgere dalla geografia del Medio Evo co'l nome di Geon nel Paradiso terrestre. Brunetto Latini, Tesoretto, XI.:

"I vidi apertamente - come fossi presente
 Li fiumi principali - che son quattro, li quali,
 Secondo il mio avviso, - escon di Paradiso.
 Cio son Tigri e **Fisoni** - Eurfrate e Gion.

(1) One mention in Arnaut Daniel.

"Gion va in Etiopia -
 - bagna della su'onda
 Tutta terra d'Egitto, - e la bagna a diretto
 Una fiata l'anno - a ristorar lo danno
 Che l'Egitto sostenne - che mai piova non venne,
 Così serva suo filo - ed è chiamato Nilo."

This passage shows clearly that it was the great irrigating power of the Nile - its gift of fertility which initiated its worship. The idea of mystery doubtless sprang from the fact that no man knew where the source of the Nile lay. Despite the knowledge which we now have, the unravelling of the problem by the discovery of the White Nile, swollen by Abyssinian rains, the sudden appearance of a great expanse of water in the desert sand must yet remain a mighty miracle.

There is one other rather interesting reference to the Nile which I should like to quote as showing that the Nile was also esteemed because of the greatness of its size. It occurs in the 1691 edition of 'Bacco in Toscana' by Francesco Redi. On p. 188 of those quaint and utterly delightful notes of his we find the following comment:

"Lodi pur l'acque del Nilo."

"Filostrato nelli immagini ovvero pitture describe una certa storia que si contava delle meraviglie di Bacco, fatte nell' Isola d'Andros. Agli Andri, dice egli, per virtù del dio Bacco, la terra pregna di vino scoppia e fa loro nascere un fiume, il

quale si tu lo consideri come i fiumi ordinari non giugne ad esser grande: pensando che è vino sembreratti un grande e divino fiume; poichè altri attignendo da quello, puo dispregiare con ragione il Nilo, e l'Istro tutto quanto, e affermare di essi, che molto parebbero migliori, se più piccoli fossero, ma con tali acque corressero."

The Nile then has one serious defect in comparison with the river of Andros.

Let us turn now to actual instances in the texts:

1. Bertran de Born.⁽¹⁾

"De.l Nil tro.l solelh colgan."

2. Guiraut de Bornelh.⁽²⁾

"Anc pairis contra filhol
No fetz tal falha, per Crist,
Ni paire contra so filh
De lai on s'abriva .l Nils
Tro sai on sols es colgans;"

This has all the ring of a proverbial expression and one is surprised to find the Nile ousted by the Jordan in one instance.

It is curious because it is the only mention of the Jordan I have encountered in rhetorical language. Why Calanso should have discarded the Nile would be rather interesting to discover.

He says:

"Anc joins reys no fon natz ni noiritz,

(1) Stimming p. 76.

(2) Kolsen p. 100.

Del flum Jordan tro al solelh colguan."⁽¹⁾

There are two other references to the Nile:

3. Guillaume de Cabestaing.⁽²⁾

"Qu'el fuec que m'art es tals que Nils
No.l tudaria, plus q'us fils
Delguatz sostendria una tor."

4. Arnaut Daniel.⁽³⁾

"De part Nil entro c'a Sanchas
Genssernois Viest etc. "

Here again Nile signifies the remote east.

In Arnaut Daniel there are two other references to rivers.

The first on p. 113 runs as follows:

"Qu'ieu non vuoil jis mas per geing treu aillors
Baillir que clanon Tigris e Meandres."

The lines are annotated as follows in Canello's edition:

"Rispetto alla ricchezza (del limo) del Meandro si vegga Plinio 5.29,31, e Ovidio, Met. VIII., 162; al Tigri e attribuita la ricchezza forse perchè si favoleggiava che avesse le sorgenti nel paradiso terrestre (cp. Brunetto Latino), o perchè traversa la fertilissima Mesopotamia." With regard to the word "Meandres" there is a vexed reading, but with that it is not our task to deal.

(1) 'Jongleurs et troubadours Gascons,' Jeanroy, p. 65.

(2) Ray. III., p. 110.

(3) Canello p. 117.

The other is on p. 117 and also involves two vexed texts - Canello's solution of the difficulty seems very rational.

"Qu'ieu passera part la palutz de Lerna
Com peregrins o lai per on cor Ebres."

I quote then from Canello's note: "La palutz de Lerna" pote' esser nota ad A. Daniello per la lettera delle Metamorfosi d'Ovidio (IX. 69), autore che dobbiamo supporre a lui abbastanza, familiare." He then goes on to explain that the river mentioned cannot be the Ebro in Spain but the Hebrus in Thrace or else a river of the same name which flows to Georgia. If the reference in the first line really be to the Lernean marsh near Argos, then the pilgrim is making for the Holy Land and not for the shrine of Compostella, beyond the Pyrenees. This solution may well be the correct one because Arnaut Daniel seems on the whole to have been very familiar with Ovid.

To Arnaut Daniel we owe the one mention of the Rhone - the Rhone swollen with rain, rushing down in spate. He says:

"Que jis Rozers per aiga que l'engrois
Non a tal briu c'al cor plus larga dotz
Nom fassa estanc d'amor, quand la remire." (1)

In Guiraut de Calanson there is a reference to a river without the intervention of a proper name. It is rather a striking figure and the sentiment seems to me quite unique in

(1) p. 115.

troubadour poetry. Calanson is invoking the king of Castile (Alfonso VIII.).

"Qu'a pretz conqués
Sobreis emperadors
Els reys forsores
Els princeps els marques,
Los pretz els dos
Qu'aïssis perdon vengut,
Cum mar rescon
Los noms dels flums, etc." (1)

"As the sea hides the names of rivers" - this idea of rivers losing their identity in the sea strikes quite an original note in troubadour poetry.

There is one other mention of a river in the generic sense in Guillaume d'Autpol (2), where the Virgin Mary is termed "Flums de plazer" - it is a strange expression - what exactly does it mean? It has no Biblical genesis that I am aware of.

Summing up then, it is rather curious to note that the river figure, though one which we might well deem primeval, exists in a purely embryonic form in troubadour poetry. The Rhone dashing towards the sea, or the placid-flowing Loire never suggested to the minds of the minstrels the unbroken flow of time and the passing nature of all things; they never even thought of life as being like a river, (3) They knew the Bible well, as we shall have occasion to

(1) 'Jongleurs et troubadours gascons,' Jeanroy p. 53.

(2) Ray. IV., p. 473.

(3) The last idea is vaguely outlined in Calanson's figure, but it is merely a suggestion.

see, and yet we never find the old idea of a river as a barrier, as something which we must cross to reach a desired goal. Even the classical conception of Charon and the Styx, seems to have been utterly unknown to them, the dark-flowing waters never reminded them of the cold tide of death.

At the same time I personally see no way of comparing love to a river, speaking generally; and troubadour poetry was first and foremost a love poetry. It is certainly odd that such an obvious figure as that of the river should receive such scant mention, but perhaps the explanation lies in the nature of the figure itself. To my thinking the river belongs more appropriately to the realm of reflexion and quiet philosophy of life; the troubadours were not thoughtful. Again, the river figure is one which seems more fitted to an old and wise outlook on life - the troubadour was very young and buoyant in spirit. He rarely speaks of death or old age or the end of things; his blood beats warmly in his veins; he loves the spring and the sun and rising sap, what has he to do with the relentless passage of time?

Figures which reveal to us the world in which the troubadour lived.

The troubadours were essentially realistic, that is how the claim of artificiality put forward by many critics seems so strange. They culled their figures from all kinds of sources and the world in which they lived and moved was reflected in their poetry. As we read through these early lyrics the pageant of the Middle Ages passes before our eyes with convincing reality and freshness. The phenomenon is a somewhat different one from that presented by the romances. In the romances we know ourselves to be in a fairy world pied with daisies and echoing to the song of the nightingale, but we are sometimes awakened with a very rude shock to the crude realities of the Dark Ages; I refer, for instance, to such a scene as that of the lepers in 'Tristan and Isolde,' which is like a loathsome sore suddenly revealed to our eyes. In troubadour poetry we have something of quite another type. The South of France was a pleasant peaceful land where feudalism did not mean warring barons and pillaged farms, but the existence of a polished and enlightened society where oppression and want seem to have been practically unknown; the customs, the traditions and the manners of that society form the background against which the poetry stands out.

Bertoni in his volume 'Leggende e Poesie del medio-evo' (p. 148) puts it as follows: "Nella lirica dei provenzali, sotto molte e svariate fioriture di un' arte elegante e attraverso un velo di immagini spesso squisite, si scorgono molti riflessi, com'è naturale, delle tradizioni, degli usi, delle costumanze dei tempi. Le credenze e le superstizioni offrono motivo a locuzioni, che sono sovente un testimonio prezioso di abitudini scomparse o sul punto di scomparire; la guerra, i commerci, la caccia, il giuoco, la musica, i mestieri formiscono espressioni ricche talora di evidenza e di plasticità, molte risomano fra le manifestazioni dei costumi, dei gusti, delle preferenze e, in una parola, della civiltà si specchiano, in maggiore o minor misura, nella poesia dei trovatori come in ogni altra poesia. La vita di tutti i giorni risuona più o meno fiocamente entro alcune delle strofe levigate dei poeti de Provenza etc."(1)

Let us turn first of all to figures which refer definitely to the conventions of feudalism. Such figures were common in troubadour poetry in a simple form, for example the expression "in sa bailia" recurs constantly, and more involved figures are not unusual. The reason for this is not far to seek. The troubadour's relations with his lady very much resembled those between a vassal and his feudal lord. There was the same pact of fidelity sealed in approved conventional fashion. To make the resemblance still more substantial the troubadour's lady

(1) p. 148. Riflessi di costumanze giuridiche.

was, as a general rule, a great lady, who was possessed of considerable wealth and power. The minstrel's poetry was a very real payment of homage to her whom he regarded as his "lord" because "midons" curiously enough is masculine (meus dominus). This system of course lent itself to abuse, and we know that many troubadours sang the praises of a lady merely out of selfish interest, while just as many ladies were ready to bribe troubadours in order that their graces might be made known to all. Fortunately this was rather the exceptional case.

The system of courtly love was, then, a feudal convention, born of the feudal system and intimately connected with it. This being so, the vocabulary of troubadour poetry is full of feudal terms and reminiscences which are hardly worthy of being termed figures. At the same time there occur a number of really complicated metaphors. One of the most noted of these is that of Bernart de Ventadour which is quoted and commented on by Bertoni⁽¹⁾ as follows: "V'è un trovatore, uno dei più celebri e forse il più dolce e suave, Bernart de Ventadour, che volendosi descrivere sottomesso alla sua donna, ci fa assistere addirittura in una strofa alla cerimonia che era chiamata 'commendatio,' e ci dà su di essa insegnamenti del maggiore interesse. Vediamo il poeta inginocchiato con le mani giunte come 'hom liges' e abbiamo in un verso un' allusione a una forma speciale d'omaggio, che ci tien, a dir il vero, sospesi e dubitosi

(1) Op. cit. p. 165.

quanto alla sua vera significazione:

"Ja no m'aya cor felo ni sauvatge,
Ni contra me mauvatz cosselh no creya.
Qu'en sui sos om lige, on que m'esteya,
Si que de sus del cap li ren mo gatge;
Mas mas jonchas li venh a so plazer,
E ja no.m volh mais de sos pes mover,
Tro per merce.m meta lai o.s despolha."

Che cosa vorrà propriamente dire la locuzione "si que de sus del cap li ren mo gatge,"? Ha fatto forse, Bernart de Ventadour, allusione a un' antica costumanza, che esistè già presso i Franchi e i Longobardi, e che consisteva nel porgere il capo al signore, che in segno di superiorità afferrava i capelli? O forse ha alluse al taglio dei capelli, che nelle costumanze feudali significò umiltà, sommissione, fedeltà? Io credo piuttosto che il dolce poeta limosino abbia adombrato nei suoi versi una consuetudine che si collega alle precedenti e che consisteva nel fare atto spontaneo di sommissione ponendo la mano sulla testa e afferandosi i capelli, consuetudine non estranea alle usanze della chiesa."

Taking the other figures in order of time we find the following essentially feudal expression in the earliest known troubadour, Guillaume de Poitiers:

"Qu'ans mi rent a lieys e.m liure,
Qu'en sa carta.m pot escriure."(1)

(1) Jeanroy p. 40.

In Giraut de Bornelh we find one brief figure and then a longer and more complicated one - the most fully developed of all:

1. "E si.m solh en tener so dam
Com vassal de lor bos senhors
E no m'en sui del tot laissatz;"(1)

2. "Qu'eu am cela quez ilh no m'ama re
E si.n tenh en tot can ai en baillia
E tot lo mon, si fos meus, en tenria
Lo cor en tenh en loc d'altras rictatz
E mas chansos en loc de vassalatge
E s'en fos reis ni ducs ni amiratz,
Fera rics fachs per s'amor e barnatge
E car non ai lo poder que.(m) conve
A leis servir, en ai ma bona fe
E bona fe, qui be la conoissia,
Degra prender en loc de manentia."(2)

In the second figure we have the whole matter in a nutshell - Bornelh consciously develops an idea which came instinctively to other troubadours.

In Peire Vidal there is a figure of a slightly different stamp and one which shows well how far practice differed from theory in the feudal system. A vassal's vows of fealty counted for little if his lord was not all that he desired. So it was very often in love, as Peire says:

- "E virarai m'en alhors,
Quar sens es e grans valors,
Qui de brau senhor felo
Se lonha ses mal resso."(3)

In Guiraut Riquier we meet something of exactly the same nature - the feudal lord who abandons his vassal in evil case:

(1) Op. cit. p. 180.
(2) " " P. 192.
(3) " " P. 4.

"Aissi cum selh que franchamen estai
 E ses regnart l.s met en servitut
 De tal senhor, que pus l'a receubat
 Per sieu, li fa far son poder e may,
 O fi yeu ben....."(1)

"Pueys laissan me cum dons mal deffenden
 Son bon vassalh en camp mist gent estranha."(2)(3)

As we have found with all other figures, feudal expressions were applied to the Virgin Mary - as for example in Perdigon:

"Regina d'auteza
 E de senhoria,
 La vostra franqueza
 A'l mon en bailia;"(4)

Closely connected with feudalism, and indeed, inseparable from it is the idea of law and justice. As in the former case we find that troubadour poetry possesses quite a large vocabulary of juridical terms; expressions such as "querer plai," "acuzar e traire," "clamar," "apellar," "desleyar," "mover plai" etc. are constantly met with. With regard to more elaborate and sustained metaphor at least two examples exist. One of those has been already quoted, and fully annotated by Bertoni⁽⁵⁾ as follows: "Un nuovo raggio de luce sopra costumanze giudiziarie di altro carattere, ma non meno interessanti, viene da una poesia di un trovatore assai celebre, Perdigon, il quale ci ha lasciato una testimonianza preziosa per la storia del diritto medievale in

(1) Gr. 5, V. 1 sq.

(2) Gr. 5, V. 26.

(3) Both quoted from Anglade's 'Riquier.'

(4) R. IV. p. 421.

(5) Op. cit. p. 151.

una strofa che si legge nella sua canzone "Tot l'an mi ten Amors" e che non è stata fatta oggetto, sino ad ora, di ricerche speciali etc."

"E fatz efortz s'ab ira joi mi do,
 Quar en asso.m conort e m'afortis
 Contra.l dezir en qu'Amors m'a assis,
 Aissi cum selh qu'a batalh' aramida,
 Que sap de plan sa razos es delida
 Quant es encort on hom lieg no.l cossen
 Et ab tot so se combat eissamen,
 Me combat ieu en cort ou no.m ten pro,
 Que Amors m'a forsjugat, no sai quo."(1)

.....Il nostro "de plan" non può essere reso che così:
 sommariamente, senza formalitàSopra tutto all' alba del
 secolo XIII., quand cioè fu scritta la strofa di Perdigon, il
 processo sommario era considerato un po' come un abuso di autorità.
 In Italia e in Sardegna, era ancora per l'appunto un abuso
 ai tempi di Dante. Chi non ricorda nella Divina Commedia Frate
 Gomita "vasel di ogni froda / Ch'ebbe i minici di suo donno in
 mano e 'danar si tolse' e poi 'lasiolli di piano, si com' ei di
 dice? etc. L'espressione di Perdigon esaminata sotto la luce
 di queste osservazioni, acquisita un significato tutto particolare
 degno d'essere messo in evidenza. Perdigon vuol dire che
 egli si trova nella condizione di colui che ha ogni suo diritto
 rigettato e offeso "de plano" cioè "sommariamente" che è quanto
 dire in modo riconosciuto irregolare, sebbene permesso e talora
 ingiusto. Egli

(1) Chaytor 'Poésies du troubadour Perdigon,' p. 19, IV.

è veramente come colui, che si trova dinanzi a un tribunale "on hom dreg no.1 cossen!" Tuttavia, pur sapendo che ogni suo atto sarà inutile di fronte al partito preso dai giudici, egli si dispone a chiedere di provar le sue ragioni con le armi, a combattere insomma in un duello giudiziario (batalh' aramida)

.....resta sempre che nella strofa di Perdigon la batailh' aramida ha il significato di "duello giudiziario." Questa strofa è tutta contesta di termini giuridici e ha per la storia del diritto penale una certa importanza. Infatti, Perdigon ci fa sapere, senza volerlo, che colà dove egli si trovava (forse nella terra natale l'Ardèche) la prova del duello era ancora permessa, in senso largo, ai contendenti, mentre altrove cominciava già a subire alcune restrizioni, "razon" nel senso di diretto e "delir" col significato di rifiutare, rigettare

Una volta incominciato la raccolta delle espressioni d'origine giuridica più significative, che si rinvennero nell' antica lirica provenzale, la messe si farebbe assai abbondante perchi continuasse con pervicacia la ricerca, tenendo pur anche conto di espressioni il cui significato si sia svolto da quello giuridico primitivo, e.g. ...querer plai, acuzar e traire... clamor, apellar desleyor (uscire dalla legge) mover plai etc. "ocaiso" (sottigliezza etc.)....."

The other is equally interesting and perhaps not so well known, it is from the Moine de Montaudon:

(1) It has been suggested that in this case the word is the name of the monastery. This of course would explain the following from the same source: "The Virgin Mary who was the first to be called the Virgin Mary to whom many religious houses have dedicated."

1. "Aissi cum selh, qu'om mena al jutjamen,
Que es per paug de forrag acuzatz,
Et en la cort non es quaire amatz,
E poiria ben estorser fugen,
5. Mas tan se sap ab pauc de falhimen
No vol fugir e vai s'en lai doptos,
Atressi m'a amors en tal luec mes
Don no m val dregz, ni l'aus clamor merces,
Ni del fugir no sui ges poderos.
2. Bona dompna, si en fos lialmen
En postra cort mantengutz ni jutjatz,
Lo tort qu'ie us ai fora dreitz apelhatz,
Qu'ieu m'en puese ben esdir per sagrament;
Done pus vas me non avetz nulh garen
Qu'un anc falhis, dompna corteza e pros,
Mas quar vos am e tot quan de vos es,
E quar n'aus dir en manhs riex luecs grans pes,
Veus tot lo tort, dona, qu'ieu ai vas vos."⁽¹⁾

This figure is very similar in tone to that of Perdigon. In both instances the court is prejudiced against the culprit - they love him little, they will not do him justice. Surely it throws light upon the customs of the age. The law was administered according to the feeling of the court, corruption was rife and unbiassed judgement was practically unknown. To have a friend in court was an imperative necessity. In the Monk's case we find the prisoner at the bar for a very slight charge, he could escape if he would, but he does not - the reason why is not very clear to me, it seems to be contained in line 5. The figure, however, stops at this point and no indication is given of the punishment likely to be meted out.⁽²⁾ The second stanza may be simply another juridical figure, or it possibly

(1) R. III., p. 448.

(2) It has been suggested that in this case the court is the chapter of the monastery. This of course would explain the refraining from flight. It would also fix the "bona dompna" as the Virgin Mary to whom many religious houses were dedicated.

may be taken in a literal sense. It is not impossible that a troubadour who broke his vows or committed some offence towards his lady, might have been summoned to judgment before her in an informal way. The Monk certainly says "si eu fos leyalmen / En vostra cort mantengutz ni jujatz." Whether such courts really ever existed is still, I believe, a much disputed point. One thing is certain, namely that the laws of courtly etiquette were as numerous and as complicated as the laws of the land, possibly indeed more powerful and more faithfully observed. The subject matter of countless tenzoni bears witness to this, also the maxims on conduct which were common.⁽¹⁾ Many great troubadours wrote books on manners towards the end of their lives, some of which have come down to us. It is not unlikely then, that great ladies did hold courts to pass judgment on points of etiquette. The Monk's words might be as readily literal as figurative. Note that he is not above bribery and corruption himself. If his lady will acquit him he will say much good of her in many high places - this was not an uncommon way of placating an irate dame as we have seen before.⁽²⁾

After Feudalism and Law the next greatest factor in the Middle Ages was that of the Church. But in Provence the role of the church was different from that in most Latin countries. The Provençaux seem to have been from earliest times a people

(1) We also possess several "Ensenhamen."

(2) Cp.

who loved independent thought. They resented the authority of the church. And the church proper was never really so firmly established as in the north of France. In all troubadour poetry I have never met one reference to a priest. The parish system seems not to have existed to any great extent - or else to have been held in little esteem. Of course it is to be remembered that troubadour poetry is essentially aristocratic in character and the priest is of humbler origin. On the other hand the monkish orders were firmly established in the South of France and the monastery of Citeaux was a power. The troubadours were always in close touch with the monasteries. Many of them indeed were initially intended for the monastic life, while just as many sought the peace of the cloister for their last years on earth. The Moine de Montaudon is a noteworthy instance of how free monastic rule must have been with regard to minstrelsy.⁽¹⁾ The Monk is allowed complete freedom because of the benefits he brings his monastery. One detail shows in a very striking way how widely the South diverged from the North in its attitude towards the church as a civil authority - in Provence there were no great Cathedrals. The worship of the Virgin was not less strongly developed south of the Loire, but it bore a different character. In Provence the cult of Mary was dissociated from the Church, whereas in the North of France the Virgin was its mainstay in the thirteenth century at least. The Virgin ruled

(1) Unless of course the Monk belonged to the Benedictines who, in certain cases, are allowed entire liberty of movement. It must also be borne in mind that the monastic discipline so strongly advocated by St. Bernard had not yet entirely passed into practice.

in the hearts and minds of the troubadours but she was not allowed to further the temporal power of the church.

Finally we come to the much discussed question of heresy which was the nominal reason for the Albigensian crusade. The chief difficulty in the matter is that the only accounts which we possess of the heretics have come to us through the medium of embittered and unscrupulous antagonists. I think their number has been very largely over-rated, and of course it is a known fact that the Albigensian crusades were really formed with the base aim of destroying the power of the south and transferring it to the North of France - the cat's paw of Rome. Count Raymond VI. of Toulouse, the great patron of troubadours was one of the first to suffer, but there are no proofs that the troubadours were themselves tainted with the heresy. In fact we find such a statement as this in Peire Vidal:

"D'aïssó sembla heretg'e traïdor,
Qu'ab bel semblan met home en error."

Peire is certainly on the side of orthodoxy. We find in them, however, two things calculated to make their destruction convenient for Rome, firstly an openness of mind and independence of thought which, if not in itself heretical, was yet a soil in which heresy might well flourish, and secondly an outspoken and fearless condemnation of the abuses of the church. These two

strains are apparent in troubadour poetry.

The first indication of the former is the fact that many of the earliest monuments in Provençal are scriptural. There is a gospel of St. John, there are confessions, hymns, prayers to the Virgin and sermons. The tree allegories, so common in early troubadours and so highly developed in Marcabru, one of the first school, can be traced to a close study of the Sermon on the Mount and the evolution of the ideas contained in it. In fact the Bible in some form must have been within the reach of the troubadours because they knew it remarkably well and quoted from it comparatively freely.⁽¹⁾ Bearing in mind the fact that we are dealing merely with figures of speech, the number of Biblical figures is really large and shows great independence of choice.

There are three references to manna -

"Que mal m'es dolz e savorius,
E'l pauc ben mana don mi pais."⁽²⁾

"Ges non viu de manna dreicha
Cum petz lo trips d'Israel etc."⁽³⁾

"Ben es selh pagutz de mana
Qui ren de s'amor guazanha."⁽⁴⁾

The first and last of these figures seem to point to a common usage of the word in the sense of something precious. The se-

(2) Cabestaing R. III. p. 111.

(3) Marcabru, Déjeanne XLII. - IV.

(4) Rudel, Jeanroy p. 4.

(1) Indeed a biblical culture could not but arise from the mere knowledge of the church's offices. It has always been a practice to read portions of the Old and New Testaments at Mass and at the various 'hours.' Anyone who had a grasp of the annual cycle of readings was bound to know a certain amount about the Bible, more especially as these readings were given in the vernacular. Besides, the office of Mass contains many excerpts from Scripture.

cond usage is of course typical of Marcabru and of his rather moralising tone.

Cain is twice mentioned:

"Que l'Amistat(s) d'estraing atur
Falsa del lignatge Caim
Que mot los sieus a malanur,"(1)

"Jamais non eug qu.s desencrim.
Quar trop s'a levat peyor crim
Que.l de Caim om qui l'amor
Del ric Senhor
De Toloz' era.s tuelha."(2)

No comment here is necessary further than to note that Cain is already regarded as the type of the criminal.

Peire Vidal contains the most frequent Biblical reminiscences and most of them occur in a poem of which the last rhyme in the coblas is "el." Peire has contrived to get a number of excellent scriptural comparisons even with the complication of this exacting rhyme. Speaking of his lady he says:

"Sei dig an sabor de mel,
Don sembla Sant Gabriel."(1)

"Ea.m leial e fizel
E just plus Deus Abel."(2)

"Del talh dels filhs d'Israel
Et es colomba ses fel."(3)

"L'am mais per Sant Raphael,(4)
Que Jacobs no fetz Rachel!"

(1) Jeanroy, p. 47.

(2) " p. 48.

(3) " p. 48.

(4) Ibid.

Of those who will not go to the crusades:

"E totz hom que no.s revella
Contr' aquesta gen fradella
Mal me sembla Daniel
Que.l dragon destruis a bel."

Finally:

"Per Sant Jacme qu'om apela
L'apostol de Compostela,
En Luzi' a tal Miquel
Que.m val mais que cel del cel."

In another poem we find the following mention:

".....Ai baro!
Co.m ten en sa preizo
Amors, que Salamo,
E Davi atressi
Vinquet e.l fort Samso
E.ls tenc en son grilho,
Qu'anc nonae rezemso
Tro qu'a la mort, e posmi te,
Ad estar m'er a sa merce."⁽¹⁾

Peire must have read Ecclesiastes:

"Que.l segles non es mas vens,
E qui plus s'i fia
Fai major folia:
Qu'a la mort pot hom proar
Com panc val aurs als manens:"

For a troubadour who had no clerical relationships this selection is rather remarkable. It shows that the troubadours read at least the Bible for themselves as literature² and probably dis-

(1) Op. cit. p. 64.

(2) Cp. note on page 89.

cussed it in an open and unorthodox manner. In Marcabru we get a figure similar to the one where Vidal describes how love held Samson, and there is a reference to David and Solomon which is somewhat obscure. Then follow various other references:

1. "Non saps d'amor cum trais Samson?"⁽¹⁾
2. "Aprop lo bon lanz vos gardaz,
ço diz Salomons e Daviz."⁽²⁾
3. "C'anc per cuidar
Non vim granar
La cima plus que la razitz."⁽³⁾

There is a reference to Pharaoh and one to the "baptismes de Jordana" - but these could not in any sense be termed figurative. Peire d'Auvergne has a reference to Job:

"Tug morrem, qu'avens no.ns gueris
Negun al temps plus que fes Jop."⁽⁴⁾

Cabestaing takes rather an amusing liberty with history when he describes Adam as pulling the apple!

"Anc pus n Adam culhic del fust
Lo pom don tug em en tabust,
Tan belha non aspiret Crist,"⁽⁵⁾

In Cercamon we find two scriptural references:

1. "Ditz el reprovier lo pajes:
Q'a glazi per a glazi es
Feritz d'eis lo sen colp mortau."⁽⁶⁾

(1) Déjeanne, VI. iv.

(2) " VI. viii..

(3) " XIX. vii.

(4) Zenker p. 127.

(5) R. III., p. 109.

(6) Jeanroy, p. 12.

2. "lauzengiers qu'an bec malahuros,
qui son peyor que Judas, qui Dieu trays;"(1)

Arnaut Daniel even refers to the epistles of St. Paul:

"Vers es qu'ien l'am et es orguouills,
Mas ab jauzir celar loi tenc;
Qu'anc pos Sainz Pauls fetz pistola
Ni nuills hom dejus caranta
Non poc plus
Neis Jhesus
Far de tals, car totz absems
Als bos aips don es plus auta
Cella c'om per pros recorda."

It is interesting to remember that Dante refers very often to St. Paul.

Capdoil says:

"Ar nos sia capdels e garentia
Cel qui guidet tres reis en Bethleem,"(2)

Pistoleta does not hesitate to say:

"Et en egues atrestan de bon sen
Et de mesura can ac Salamos,"(3)

Of course, when it becomes a question of poems addressed to the Virgin, scriptural reminiscences become innumerable. They are all of exactly the same nature. This one from Cardinal, however, is interesting:

"David en la prophetia
Dis, en un salme que fes,

(1) Jeanroy p. 16.

(2) Lomm. p. 133.

(3) Lomm. p.

"Qu'al destre de dieu sezia,
 Del rey en la ley promes,
 Una reyna qu'avía
 Vestirs de var e d'ourfres;
 In yest elha etc." (1)

Sometimes these figures become slightly ridiculous, would the Virgin Mary have been flattered to find herself compared to the burning bush or Gideon's fleece? (2)

Turning to the second strain apparent in troubadour poetry - namely an outspoken contempt for the clergy - let us proceed from two typical instances of a slighter order to indictments of a really serious nature.

Cercamon, the second earliest known troubadour, mourns the abuses of his time. He says:

"Car vei fenir a tot dia
 L'amor, lo joy e.l deport,
 E no.m socor la clerzia," (3)

Sly Peire Vidal says:

"So es En Peire Vidals,
 Ama mais batalhas e torneis
 Que monges patz," (4)

The papal legate knew as much of casuistry as any Jesuit of a later age:

"Car tuich li legat de Roma
 No son jes de sen tant sotil,
 Que na devisa Missoigna etc." (5)

(1) R. IV., p. 444.

(2) Corbiac, Barsteh p. 233.

(3) Jeanroy p. 23.

(4) " p. 33.

(5) A. Daniel, Canello p. 99.

Here then already we have insinuations of three kinds - social abuses prevalent but the clergy indifferent, monks peaceloving and prosperous, papal legates with subtle minds. There is no serious blame apparent here. But with Peire Cardenal, a change is felt:

"Tartarassa ni voutor
No sent plus leu carn puden
Com clerc e prezicador
Senton ont es lo manen:"(1)

Then, written actually at the moment of the crusades, there is a really terrible poem by Guillem Figueira; it is a long and passionate outburst in which he denounces the iniquities of the church. He was himself a native of Toulouse and the terrible fate of his town and lord filled him with hatred of Rome:

"Rom' enganairitz,
Qu'etz de totz mals guitz
E cim, e razitz, que.l bons reis d'Englaterra
Fon per vos trahitz.
Roma trichairitz, cobeitatz vos engana,
Qu'a vostras berbitz tondetz trop de la lana.

Rom' als homes peçs ròzetz lacarn e l'ossa,
E guidatz los cecs ab vos inz en la fossa,
E passatz los decs de Deu, car trop es grossa
Vostra cobeitatz,
Car vos perdonatz
per deniers pechatz.

Roma, tan tenetz estreg la vostra grapa
Que so que podetz tener, greu vos escapa.

E.il vostre pastor
Son fals trichador, Roma,

(1) Bartsch p. 190.

"Roma, del malcor que portatz en la gola
 nais lo sucs don mor lo mons e s'estrangola
 Cor' avetz d'anhel ab simpla gardadura
 Dedins lop rabat,
 Serpen coronat
 De vièr^h engenrat, per que.l diable. us cura
 Coma.l sien privat."

Guillem's pen never halts for an instant in its scathing punishment. In reading his poem we do not find traces of personal resentment so much as righteous indignation. I feel that Guillem Figueira is voicing a just anger against the church, which certainly had been smouldering for a long time in the breasts of the troubadours, but which just as surely would not have burst into flame had it not been fanned by the hot wind of iniquitous persecution.

Before closing this section there are two curious facts which demand mention, first of all the strange phenomenon of Folquet de Marselha, a troubadour of the later period who identified himself with the cause of the church and became a dreaded persecutor of the heretics and of his former brother minstrels. Then a strange poem touching upon a similar topic; it is called "Izarn, Las Novas de l'Heretge"⁽¹⁾ and is the account of a heretic who abandons his cause and goes over to the enemy - on his own terms.

In conclusion then the following facts are clear from

(1) Bartsch p. 201.

these figurative passages. The clergy never had any real hold upon the South of France, but there was a wide-spread Biblical culture. There was from earliest times a veiled contempt for the church, but it required the Albigensian crusade to provoke the troubadours to open antagonism. The crusade really created the opposition which it was presumably intended to destroy.

Curiously enough there are only two references to doctors in the whole of Provençal lyric poetry and these both occur in Raimon de Toulouse. It is evident that the doctors held a very small place in society, necromancy and alchemy were probably still the dominant sciences, but even they receive scant mention. Raimon says:

"Ar ai ben d'amor apres
Cum sap de son dart ferir,
Mas cum pueys sap gent guerir
Enqueras no sai ieu ges;
Lo metge sai ben qui es
Qu'en pot sols salut donar;
Mas que m val, s'ieu demostrar
Ja non l'aus ma mortal playa?"⁽¹⁾

Qu'Ipocras, so ai auzit dir,
Ditz que metges non deu fallir
De nulh cosselh qu'om li deman."⁽²⁾

While interesting enough in themselves these references throw little light on the rôle played by the doctors of the time. It is useful to note, however, that the wholesale contempt for the profession which we find rife in a later age, had not yet begun to make itself felt.

(1) R. V. 325.

(2) R. III. p. 131.

When we come to arts and crafts the references are fuller and more numerous. We constantly find figures relating to hunting, fishing, archery, falconry etc., which bring us into more intimate touch with the everyday life of that time.

Let us begin with the archer as being the most popular and typical character of the age: Peire Vidal gives us two figures. In the first one his lady wields the bow:

"Mos bels arquiers de Laurac,
De cui m'ahelis e.m pac,
M'a nafrat de part Galhac
E son cairel el cor mis;
E anc mais colps tan no.m plac, etc."(1)

The second is of exactly the same type:

"Per so m'an Lombart conques,
Pos m'appellet 'car messier'
Tals qu'anc no vist nulh arquier
Tan dreg ni tan prim traisses;
E.m fier al cor ses falhensa,
Ab un cairel de plazensa,
Fabregat el foc d'amor,
Temprat de doussa sabor."(2)

Bertran de Born gives us a simple figure - swifter than an arrow-

"Anc naus en mar, quan a perdut sa barga
Et a mal temps e vai urtar a.l ranc
E cor plus fort qu'una saieta d'arc etc."(3)

Richart de Barbézieux has one of the Vidal series:

- (1) Jeanroy p. 23.
(2) Op. cit. p. 111.
(3) Stimming p. 103.

"Miels de dona, mielhs de valor,
 E mielhs de tot ensenhamen
 E mielhs de beutat ab joven
 Mesclat ab tan fresca color
 Qu'anc nuls arquiers tan dreg no saup destendre
 Qu'elha plus dreg no m'aya al cor assis
 La dolza mort don ien vuelh estre aucis,
 S'ab un esguart d'amor no m vol joy rendre."(1)

Lastly in Peire d'Auvergne we find the archer of death:

"Mout es grieu e fort e amar
 Als trespessans de desgiquir
 D'aisso de que.s degran aizir,
 aus que.ns sobrevengues afar;
 Qu'ieu sai que tart, si contra.l cor,
 No.s cobri om ben del arquier
 Que del colp senta la vigor,
 Quar mout val garda de primier."(2)

There are two rather amusing parallels from fishing.

Guillaume de Magret says:

"En aissi m pren cum fai al pescador
 Que non auza son peys manzar ni vendre
 Entro que l'a mostrat a son senhor,
 Qu'en tal dompna mi fai amors entendre
 Que quant ieu fas serventes ni chanso
 Ni nulha re que m pes que'l sia bo,
 Lai lo y tramet per so qu'ilh en retenha
 So que'l plaira, e que de mi'l sovenha,
 E pueys ab lo sieu remanen
 Deport m'ab lo corteza gen."(3)

An amusing side-light upon feudal customs.

Fishers seem to have always been men of little conscience,
 trespassing must have been common for Marcabru sees his way to
 make a proverbial saying of it:

(1) R. III. p. 457.

(2) Zenker p. 129 XVII.

(3) R. III. p. 421.

"Ben son l'enganador destruíg,
Car l'uns pechat a l'autr' aduíg,"(1)

In Guillaume de Magret there is a most interesting figure which gives a very realistic picture of daily life in the middle ages. Unfortunately, like many other interesting figures it is somewhat obscure in the first part. In this section we seem to have the figure of a huntsman who has lost his hawk, just as in the following section the wrestler has lost his stick, but what the exact meaning of ll. 3 - 4 is, I should not care to say. In any case, here is the passage:

"Aissi cum fan volpilh encaussador,
Encaus soven so qu'ieu non aus atendre,
E eng penre(?) ab la perditz l'austor,
E combat so dont ieu no m puese defendre,
Col bataliers qu'a perdut son basto,
Que jays nafratz sutz l'autre campio,
E per tot so l'avol-mot dir non denha,
Que per son dreg a respieg que revenha;
Si s fai, et es proat per cen,
Per qu'ieu n'ai maior ardimen."(2)

The figure is that of a man who in adverse circumstances keeps his temper and does say an evil word. The two pictures are very suggestive. It must not have been an unusual sight to see the discomfited huntsman watch his hawk soar out of his ken, or to watch at a street corner the yeoman attacked by his enemies and disarmed even of his good staff.

In Guiraut de Salignac there are two figures, also about

(1) Déjeanne VIII. ii.

(2) Ray. III. 'Magret' 421 v. ii.

unlucky huntsmen.

Here is the first:

"En atretal esperansa
 Cum selh que cass' e no pren,
 M'aura tengut lonjamen
 Amors que.m don'e.m'estray
 (Et ieu quo.l joguairaire fay
 'Que sec juec perdut e.l te,'(1)
 Sec mon dan e fug al be.")

"Aissi cum selh qu'a la lebre cassada
 E pueys la pert et autre la rete,
 Tot atressi es avengut a me
 D'una falsa qu'ai lonjamen amada
 E servida de bon cor humilmen,
 E quan cugei penre mon jauzimen
 Pres sordeyor e mi mes en soan.
 Aissi o fetz cum las lobas o fan."(2)

These figures have a certain pathos when we realise how much depended on the hunter's success. To hunt and take nothing, or worse still, to hunt and lose where another found, was a very poignant disaster in the Middle Ages. Both comparisons are thus equally telling.

In Peire Vidal we come across a hunting simile of quite another character, and one which is most unusual in troubadour poetry, it describes the woman as laying a snare for her lover. Anglade thinks it refers to a fowler, this need not necessarily be the case.

Quoting then,

"E valgra .m mais que.m fos al prim esquivá,

(1) Strempe! p. 70. 'Canz.' I.

(2) " P. 75.

"Qu'ela.m tengues en aitan greu rancura;
 Mas ilh o fai si com cel que cembela,
 Qu'ab bels semblans m'a mes en mortal pena,"(1)

It is, as I have said, rather uncommon to find disparaging remarks of this kind, but they do occur once or twice in Vidal's poems.

Changing the picture we find in Giraut de Bornelh the figure of a man buying cloth—he must know how to choose:

"Senher Sobre - Tutz, de colors
 Son li drap, e qui.ls sap triar,
 Falh, si compra los sordeiors."(2)

and here is someone sharpening his knife on a stone -

"E qui' de fort fozil
 No vol coltel tochar,
 Ja no.l cut afilar
 En un mol sembeli;"(3)

next the weaver, weaving his web - of envy and sin -

"Qu'aut pres una tel' ad ordir
 De drap d'enveja e de tort,"(4)

then the carpenter planing wood has become a proverbial saying:

"Anc per lui non fo dolatz fustz."(5)

This proverb in significance is perhaps equivalent to such an expression as this: "He didn't pay the piper," etc. Poira as

(1) Anglade p. 16.

(2) Kolsen p. 72.

(3) Op. cit. p. 300.

(4) 'Marcabru,' Déjeanne, XXII. iv.

(5) Op. cit. LIV., v.

Peire Vidal, as a boy, has watched the goldsmith at his work and long after he remembers the gleam of the gold over the furnace:

"Ab pauc de foc fon l'aur e franh
L'obriers entro qu'es esmeratz,
Don l'obr' es plus plazens assatz:
Per que del lonc maltrag no.m planh."(1)

Again on p. 105 - 6 we find the same figure with a different application:

"A tal domna.m sui donatz
Que viu de joi e d'amor
E de pretz e de valor,
On s'afina si beutatz,
Com l'aurs en l'arden carbo;"

Arnaut Daniel has watched him too - polishing and gilding - so love polishes and gilds his song:

"En cest sonet coind' e leri
Fauc motz e capuig e doli;
E seraut verai e cert
Quan n'aurai passat la luma;
Qu'Amors marves plan'e daura
Mon chantar que de liei mon
Qui pretz manten e governa."(2)

Guillaume de Poitiers also has a workshop from which he brings forth his rhymes:

"D'est vers.....
Qu'ieu ai trag de mon obrador."(3)

There is one reference to the usurer in the work of Arnaut Daniel:

(1) Anglade p. 137.

(2) Can. p. 108.

(3) Jeanroy p. 13.

"Quel sieus cors sobretracima
 Lo mieu tot e non s'isaura
 Tant a de vers fait renou
 C'obrador n'a e taverna."(1)

This figure is of course obscure like very many of Arnaut Daniel's but Lavaudan gives the following translation and explanation of the last two lines: "Elle a en cela si bien fait qu'elle possède à la fin l'artisan et la boutique." Métaphore de l'usurier qui finit par accaparer à la fois les biens et la personne de son débiteur."

It would be strange indeed if this varied pageant of figures passed before our eyes without showing the pilgrims going to and fro between the graves of the martyrs and the shrines of the saints, or even crossing the seas to the far off Holy Land. As it is we have three references to pilgrims. Peire Vidal says:

"Per aital sospeisso
 Fetz de mi pelegrí,
 Qu'anc romeus d'orazo
 Mais tan forsatz no fo."(2)

Then in Guiraut de Calanson we find:

"Ai en leis m'esperança
 Con pelegris
 Entremaris,
 Crezen en lom de perdonança;"(3)

Then Arnaut Daniel makes a brief reference:

(1) Canello p. 109.

(2) Anglade p. 63.

(3) Jeanroy 'Jongleurs et troubadours gascons,' p. 68.

"Qu'ieu passera part la palutz de Lerna,
Com peregrims o lai per on cor Ebres." (1)

Finally in Richart de Barbézieux we find a reference to the hermit. The troubadour expresses in lines of striking beauty and pathos his desire to leave the scene of his afflictions:

"E s'ieu per los fis amans
Non puosc en ioy retornar,
Per tostemps lays mon chantar,
Que de mi no ya ren plus,
Aus vuirai cum lo reclus,
Sols ses solatz, qu'aitals es mos talens,
Quar ma vida m'es ennecs et afans,
E gaugz m'es dols e plazers m'es dolors,
(Qu'ieu no suy ges de la maniera d'ors,
Que qui be.l bat ni.l te vil ses merce
Adones engrayssa e melhuyra e reve.")(2)

This brief reference to the "joglars" is rather interesting:

"Farai o doncs aissi co.l joglars fai;
Aissi com muoc mon lais lo fenirai:" (3)

There are one or two mentions of carters or carriers.

Bertran de Born says:

"Et a sobrier Engolesmes maior
D'en charretier que guerpis la charreta;" (4)

Carters then were sometimes neglectful of their duties: they were also rather uncivil fellows if one can judge from what Guillaume de Poitiers says:

(1) Canello p. 117.

(2) Lommatsch p. 70 §2

(3) 'Marselha,' op. cit. p. 38.

(4) Stimming p. 69.

"L'us es compains gens a for manda carrei,"

Let us turn our attention now to a little group of figures - eight in all - which throw an interesting sidelight on the Middle Ages. Gambling was apparently very common in the South of France. Men loved to throw the dice; but happily for themselves, they also loved the more sober and thoughtful game of chess. How long and quiet those winter evenings must have been in the Middle Ages when the "Mistral" howled over the Camargue. Many ladies and lords must have sat over their chess-boards in the window recesses as did Isolde with King Marc. Let us bridge the centuries through our troubadours' songs and watch the moves of the old game.

Here is a minstrel who would like to play with his lady. Over the squared field they would piece out the problem of their love:

"Aisso' n volgra, ses mal entendemen,
 Ab ma donna jogar en sa maizo
 Un joc d'escacx, ses autre companho
 Que no s'anes del joc entremeten,
 E qu'ien 'l dissés un escac sotilmen
 En descubert, quar sa honor volria,
 Que quan fora nostre juecx afinat
 Qu'ieu remazes del juec vencutz e matz."(1)

The lady then is to receive a check but her lover will see to it that she is allowed an easy victory in the end.

The other figures are much briefer and less interesting. In

(1) Bernard d'Ariac. Ray. V., p.

Peire Vidal we find:

"Mils tans es doblatz sos bes
Qu'il comte de l'escaquier,"(1)

In Folquet de Marselha:

"N'Azimanz, qu'ien no.m planh de re,
Neis si.m doblava.l mals d'aital faisso
Com dobla.l pointz del taulier per razo."(2)

From the same author:

"E Dieus penra en venjansa
Tal qu'e.l corn del taulier n'er matz."(3)

Let us turn from the quiet contemplation of the chess-board to the excitement of the dice tables. Here we find to begin with two very interesting figures. They are from Aimeric de Peguilhan and Arnaut de Comminges respectively. The latter has the interest of being the only figure of this Gascon troubadour which we possess:

"Atressi en pren com fai al joguador
Qu'al comensar jogua mayestrilmen
A petitz juecs, pueis s'escalfa perden,
Qu'el fai montar tan que sen la folhor.
Aissi m mis ien pauc e pauc en la via,
Que cuiava amar ab mayestria
Si qu'en pogues partir quan me volgues
On sui intratz tan qu'issir non puese ges."(4)

"E fan o cum li jogador

(1) Anglade p. 112.
(2) Stronski p. 31.
(3) Op. cit. p. 107.
(4) Ray. v.

100.
"Que al grand joc primieramen
Perden e puois ab paue d'argen
Que roman van jogar aillor,
A petit joc, per essaiar
S'o poiria d'autrui cobrar:"(1)

The first describes the gambler who begins with small stakes and shows great self-control and then as he meets with reverses grows excited until he completely loses his balance. In the second case the gambler loses at the big gaming table but unlike his companion he has the sense to withdraw and goes elsewhere to see if he can make up what he has lost.

In the Middle Ages, as at all times, there were those who did not play fair, and Peire Vidal talks of a loaded dice. In his figure we have the personification of evil who with loaded dice cheats in the game of life. Peire says:

"Ab us datz menutz plombatz
Nos a trichatz Malvestatz,"(2)

Another figure is found in Arnaut Daniel and here once more I must rely upon the interpretation of M. Lavaudan. The figure runs as follows:

"De drudaria
Non sai de re blasmar,
C'autrui paria
Torn ieu en reirazar."(3)

Lavaudan translates the last two lines in this wise: "'Je tiens cela pour un coup de dé qui me recule.'" Métaphore tiré du jeu,
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- (1) Arnaut de Comminges, 'Jongleurs et troubadours gascons,' p.76
(2) Anglade p. 85.
(3) Canello p. 97.

pour lui, être à l'égalité (paria) serait reculer."

In Folquet de Marselha we have a picture of the player who has lost all and discovering it to his cost, too late, swears he will play no more:

"Sitot me soi a tort aperceubutz,
Aissi cum cel qu'a tot perdut e jura
Que mais non joc, a gran bonaventura
M'o dei tener car me sui conogutz
Del gran engan qu'Amors vas mi fazia,"(1)

Guiraut de Salignac repeats again the same idea of the gambler who is meeting with disaster but who keeps on playing:

"Et ieu quo.l joguaire fay
Que sec juec perdut e.l te
Sec mon dan e fug al be." (2)

Curiously these figures, which are fairly numerous relatively, make no mention of gain. The game seems to have always been a losing one. This fact and the mention of the "leaded dice" force one to the conjecture at least, that the gaming-tables were kept by rather unscrupulous men, or else that sharpers were very common. It is of course possible to put forward a psychological explanation, we feel our losses far more keenly than we appreciate our gains and we remember them longer.

The troubadours were fond of using homely, realistic figures which are exceedingly interesting although they are too

(1) Stronski p. 52.

(2) Strempele p. 70.

varied to admit of serious classification. The troubadours were not poets of one stamp, turning out poems of identically similar treatment. While the form was doubtless always the same, the treatment was usually vastly different. The troubadours were extraordinarily distinct one from another. Even among the so-called minor poets there are very few who admit even of comparison, and many show streaks of real poetic genius. The troubadours were great poets, and as such they were not afraid to choose their figures from whatever sphere suited them at the moment. Here, for example, is a metaphor from shaving, by Marcabru; a shave without water, mark you:

"C'est amors sap engan faire,
 Ab engan ses aigua raire,
 puois, quand l'a ras, se remuda
 E quier autrui cui saluda,
 A cui es douss'e Privada,
 Tant que.l fols deven musaire."(1)

In a poem by Peyrols we find another realistic figure. Peyrols has given his love to one lady, but meantime his whole heart has been filled with love of another, like a sponge with water:

"Quant ieu cuit amar alhors
 Per tot lo cors m'intra s'amors,
 Si cum fai l'aigua en l'esponja."(2)

In Peire d'Auvergne we find an ingenious reference to bread and a knife - these being symbolic of his poetic tools:

(1) Déjeanne V., ii.

(2) Ray. III., p. 278.

"Qu'ieu tenh l'us(?) e.l pan e.l coutel
De que.m platz apanar las gens;"⁽¹⁾

Even in Folquet de Marselha we find figures of this type; "in love one's position may sometimes be as unhappy as that of the man who is 'up a tree' and can't get down!"

"Pero d'amor - que.l ver vos en dirai -
No.m lais del tot ni no m'en puese mover,
~~Enan~~ no vau ni no puese remaner,
Aissi quom cel qu'e mieg de l'aabr' estai,
Qu'es tan poiatz que no sap tornar jos,
Ni sus no vai, tan li par temeros."⁽²⁾

Here is another from the same author - we must step back that we may leap forward:

"E qui.l bon rei Richart qui vol qu'ieu chan
Blasmet per so quar non passet dese,
Ar l'en desmen si que chascus o ve;
Qu'areire.s trais per mielhs salhir enan:"⁽³⁾

There are two other figures in Marselha which recall forcibly the type of figure met with in the English Metaphysical School of poetry. The troubadour certainly belonged to the last phase of the literature when fantastic conceit often took the place of spontaneous metaphor.

"Qu'atressi.m te quom se sol en balansa
Dezesperat ab alques d'esperansa,
Pero no.m vol del tot laisser murir
Per so que.m puesa plus soven aucir."⁽⁴⁾

(1) Zenker III., P. 87.

(2) Stronski p. 37.

(3) Op. cit. p. 50.

(4) Op. cit. p. 64.

"C'aissi nos tien honoratz
 Q'eissamens cum l'azimans
 Tira.l fer e.l fai levar
 Fazi' el mains cors dreissar
 Vas pretz, forsatz e pesans;"(1)

These two comparisons of the balance and the magnet are certainly curiously like those of Donne - in fact Folquet's whole style might readily be compared to that of the English poet.⁽²⁾ From the point of view which we are now taking up the figures are interesting as being the only mention of a magnet or a balance I have ever encountered.

The troubadours were very fond of speaking about keys.

Bernart de Ventadour says:

"E las carcens ont ilh m'a mes
 No pot claus obrir mas merces,
 E de merce no i trob nien."⁽³⁾

A prison which no key will open.

Pons de Capdoill boasts that he holds above all, the key of loving well:

"E sobre totz port la clau d'amar be;"⁽⁴⁾

This idea in Pierre d'Auvergne is very similar:

"E s'il vol, si m'am o s'em lais,
 Qu'ieu l'amarai a ma vida,
 E s'ela no vol, ieu m'o volh,
 Que d'aitan pois tener la clau,
 Si plus non ai d'abondansa."⁽⁵⁾

(1) Stronski p. 74.

(3) Ray. III., p. 45.

(4) R. III. p. 175.

(5) Zenker p. 151.

(2) e.g. such additional figures as Stronski pp. 43, 54, 79.

In the well known passage from Arnaud de Mareuil where he adorns his lady with every conceivable flower of rhetoric he describes her as

"Claus de fin pretz, escrins d'onor,(1)

These figures with a key are rather curious because they constitute one of the nearest approaches to symbolism which we find in this poetry. The key in the Middle Ages was probably a more significant object than it is nowadays. In the first place it was of larger size and then it could mean a very great deal - a locked city gate, a locked prison cell, a casket holding its secret fast. The key came to be regarded in the light of its power to give or to with-hold, it became a symbol of potentiality. He who owns the key is blessed indeed, for him all doors are open, and nothing is hid from before him.

As we saw before, doctors seem to have been conspicuous by their absence in Southern France and there was no balm in Gilead for suffering humanity. We find frequent references to the pains of fever - fever being a cloak, one presumes, for all the ills which flesh is heir to. Dentists there were none, and many must have been the victims of that dread complaint - toothache. The troubadours speak often of toothache and always with great feeling and respect!

(1) Bartsch p.107.

In Peire Vidal there are two references to fever:

"E car no vei mon Rainier de Marselha,
Sitot me viu, mos viures no m'es vida;
E.l malautes que soven recaliva
Garis mout greu ans mors, si sos mals dura."(1)

"Qu'aissi com de recaliu
Ar m'en ve fregz, ar calors;"(2)

Love, you see, can very fitly be described as a fever.

Folquet de Marselha says:

"En escur vau com per tenebras,
Malautes suy plus que de febras,
En caitivier jac et en pena etc."(3)

Then the toothache comes next:

"Lai vir on la dens mi dol,
Ves cela de cui m'es bel
Qu'ieu la repti e l'apel
De trazio e d'enjan,"(4)

Yes, but is this flattering to the lady? And it was a conceit which was evidently known because we find it repeated in Guiraut de Bornelh thus:

"No pose sofrir c'a la dolor
De la den la lenga no vir
E.l cor ab la novela flor etc."(5)

In Folquet de Marselha we find the same idea exactly:

- (1) Anglade p. 17.
- (2) " p. 49.
- (3) Stronski p. 113.
- (4) Stimming p. 94.
- (5) Kolsen p. 228.

"Sai, a la dolor de la den
 Vir la leng', a lieis cui mi ren,
 Et er merces s'ill me denh' aculhir,
 Qu'en maint bon loc faz son ric pretz auzir." (1)

Peire Vidal uses the figure in quite a different way:

"Que peitz me fai, eges no s'en melhura,
 Que mals de dens, quan dol en la maissela;" (2)

It will have been noticed that in all these figures relating to manners and customs of the Middle Ages there is no mention of crime. This again seems to indicate that France south of the Loire was a peaceful and prosperous country inhabited by people who were intelligent and law-abiding. In all Provençal literature there are only two references to a robber. One of these is from Perdigon and is exceedingly well known, it is a figure which is particularly interesting as we shall see later:

"Be.m fetz amors l'usatge del lairo,
 Quant encontra selhui d'estrany pahis,
 E.l fai creire qu'alhors es sos camis,
 Tro que li dis: 'Belhs amicx, tu me guida.'
 Et en aissi es manta gens trahida
 Qu'el mena lai on pueis lo lia e'l pren;
 Et ieu puese dir atressi veramen
 Qu'ieu segui tant amor com li saup bo,
 Tan mi menet tro m'ac en sa preizo." (3)

As is evident from the text this is one of the most dramatic figures in troubadour poetry.

(1) Stronski p. 14.

(2) Anglade p. 17.

(3) Ray. III., p. 348.

The second figure is from Peire Cardenal where he refers to death as a robber:

"Venra un fort raubador
Que non lor laissara ren,
So es la mortz que.ls abat,
Qu'ab quatr' aunas de filat
Los trmet en tal maizo
Ont atrobon de mal pro."(1)

A terse and graphic figure of forcible realism.

In closing we need only say once again that the troubadours were as realistic as true poets always are, and that Bertoni is justified in his assertions - through the figured veil we can see, albeit dimly, a varied tableau of everyday life in these early days.

(1) Bartsch p. 191.

The Classics - what did the troubadour know?

Stronski in his work on the troubadour Folquet de Marselha says: "On sait que le problème de l'influence exercée par la littérature classique sur la poésie des troubadours n'a pas encore été examiné à fond. L'examen, même assez rapide, des poésies de Folquet de Marseille apporte à ce sujet des renseignements qui peuvent être utiles. Il résulte d'une part que les emprunts ont été bien plus fréquents qu'on ne l'a supposé. Mais en même temps on y trouvera des preuves attestant que le troubadour, loin de se plonger dans la lecture des auteurs latins "in extenso," puisait simplement certaines citations dans des recueils tout prêts de sentences. Ce fait étant démontré par quelques-uns parmi les auteurs antiques, il est légitime de croire qu'en général les "florilèges" ont joué un rôle considérable dans l'érudition classique des troubadours."(1)

If one were indeed to examine the question "à fond" as Stronski states I doubt whether we would be able to arrive at any further conclusions. Apart from these facts stated above I do not see that there is much more to be discovered. The troubadours knew the classics but in a very specialised way. They had books of extracts which they used for quotation purposes in a rather superficial manner.⁽²⁾ They had no really complete series

(1) p. xi - xii.

(2) In this connection the most important influence was undoubtedly that of Publius Syrus, poète latin du 1^{er} siècle avant Jesus Christ. Ses oeuvres avaient dû être conservées par écrit, car Sénèque, Aulu-Gelle et Macrobe les citent avec éloges; mais il ne nous en est parvenu qu'un extrait assez curieux; c'est une collection de sentences ou proverbes compilés dans l'ordre alphabétique de la lettre initiale du

"Aissi, dona, co ieu die ses falhensa
 Vos ai amad' e us an de cor plenier,
 Mas tan m'aura dat fin' amors ~~temensa~~
 De dir a vos que, qui m des Monpeslier,
 Non parlara qu'ieu truep en l'escriptura
 Qu'Ovidis dis qu'ieu fiera des mezura."

"So dis un versetz de Cato
 Que senher es fols sertamen
 Can no vol creyre son sirven
Therensis dis, que sairs fo,
 Que cascuna test'a son sen."

d) In Giraut de Bornelh there is another reference to Cato:

"Detorn me vai e deviro
 Foldatz, que mais sai de Cato."(1)

This last reference must, I think, be to Cato the younger.

e) Peire de Corbiac has a very interesting little "tezaurs" which he begins in this wise:

"Faulas d'auctors sai im a milliers et a cens,
 Mais c'anc non fetz Ovidis ni Tales(2) lo mentens;"(3)

This is a curiously significant statement and surely it puts the matter very clearly. The troubadours knew hundreds of "faulas" - but not written by Ovid.

f) In Marcabru we find a very interesting but equally obscure passage. The word Catola occurs in it - which is most intriguing. Is this Catullus? There exists a troubadour

(1) Kolsen p. 336.

(2) Thales the philosopher expounded the theory that all things come from primeval slime which was refuted by Aristotle. He was one of the seven sages and predicted eclipses.

(3) Barstch p. 234.

whose name is "Ue Catola," but I do not think the reference could possibly apply to him as the line runs "Catola, Ovides..." and this combination seems decisive. The word appears twice in the same poem and since it comes on both occasions at the beginning of a line, it might have been a common noun. As it is, however, I can find no word remotely resembling it. Unfortunately the sense of the passage is not sufficiently clear to afford us any help. What is the "troill" and the "suoill" - "troill" might possibly be a corruption of "trebalh" but what "suoill" is I should not care to say. An examination of the manuscript might throw light on the matter:

"Catola, Ovides mostra chai
E l'ambladura o retrai
Que non soana brun ni bai,
Auz se trai plus aus achaiz."(1)

"Catola, per amor deu troill
Tressaill l'avens al fol lo suoill,
E puous mostra la via a l'voill
Aprop los autres escharnitz."(2) (3)

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- (1) Déjeanne VI., x.
 (2) Déjeanne VI., xiv.
 (3) Ovid mentions Catullus as a native of Verona in 'Amores' III., 15.17 - thus the troubadours probably knew the name. also it is a fact that the late Latin poem 'Per Vigilium Veneris' was falsely attributed for a long time to Catullus - it is likely that fragments at least of this poem appeared in the miscellanies. In his notes to the 'Forerunners of Dante' Butler says: "This pretty little poem ('Dolce cominciamento' Giacomo da Lentino) so strongly resembles the 'Acmen Septimius' of Catullus as to make the reader wonder if the Notary can have had any knowledge of that famous piece.....Though the manuscript of Catullus was not rediscovered (at Verona) till after 1300, some individual poems seem to have been known throughout the Middle Ages; and this is as likely as any to have been handed down in Florilegia." p. 153.

Bernard Martin gives us a translation from Horace: Raynouard says, "Le passage d'Horace 'Fungar vice cotis(1).' est rendu avec élégance et précision:

'Ab so qu'ieu sembli be la cot
Que non tailh' e fa'l per talhar;
Aquo de qu'ieu no sai un mot
Cugi ad autrui ensenhar.'" (2)

This of course is from the Ars Poetica. The text of the lyrical poetry was probably not at all known to troubadour poets.

Lastly there is a curious **verse** in Marcabru about moderation. He speaks of "la gens anciana." This might refer to the classics or else possibly to an old Provençal tradition - like the statement in the life which tells us that Cercamon wrote pastorellas after the ancient manner:

"En tal loc fai sens fraitura
On hom non garda mesura
So ditz la gens anciana." (3)

Actual historical references are also fairly numerous.

There are a few remarks about Julius Caesar:

"Quan vos totz sols
Etz ben sadols,
Non vos es ges rics gaps loindans;
Segon tas leis
As plus conquis
Que non fetz Caesar als Romans." (4)

In Perdigon we find a much fuller figure and one which shows

(1) "Fungar vice etc." Ars Poetica l. 304.

(2) Raynouard V. p. 67

(3) Déjeanne XXX. xli.

(4) Op. cit. XX. bis, v.

very clearly the kind of historical notions which the troubadours possessed. I think possibly that many legends and sayings were passed down by word of mouth. The passage we are about to quote is one typical of Perdigon, that is to say, it is a very fully developed and well sustained parallel of the same nature as the robber simile quoted above:

"Juli Cesar conquis la senhoria
 De tot lo mon tan cum ten ni garanda,
 Non ges qu'el fos senher ni **reys** d'Irlanda
 Ni coms d'Angieus ni **dux** de Normanda,
 Aus fon hom bas, segon qu'auzem retraire;
 Mas quar fon pros e franx e de bon aire,
 Puget son pretz tan quan puiar podia.
 Per que m conort enquer, s'ieu tan vivia,
 Pus us sols hom ses tor e ses miranda
 Conquis lo mon, e l'ac en sa baylia,
 Aissi ben **dey**, segon lo mieu **veiaire**,
 De vostr' amor de dreg estr' emperaire,
 Cum el del mon ses dreg que no y avia."(1)

Alexander the great was a favourite and Darius is also mentioned twice. Three of the references occur in Peire Vidal and one cannot help feeling that Peire had a sneaking fondness for Alexander - perhaps he liked to think of himself as resembling the great conqueror:

"E s'en podi' acabar
 So que m'a fait comensar
 Mos sobresforeius talens,
 Alixandres fo mens
 Contra qu'en seria:"(2)

"Vostr' om sui be, que ges no.m tenh per meu,

(1) R. III., p. 34.

(2) Anglade p. 68.

"Mas be laiss' om a mal senhor son feu;
E pois val pauc rics hom, quant part sa gen,
Qu'a Daire 'l rei de Persa fo parven." (1)

"Reis non ama valor
Qui vol creire trachor
Ni ser lauzenjador
Escoutar ni auzir;
Quar ser fan joi delir
E baissou cortezia
E ponhon en trahir
Lor senhor cascundia:
Qu'Alexandres morie
Per sos sers qu'enriqueic,
El reis Daire ferie
De mort cel que.l noirie." (2)

Pons de Capdoil also mentions Alexander:

"Q'Alixandres q' tot lo mon avia,
No.n portet ren mas un drap solamen." (3)

Speaking of the death of Richard Coeur de Lion ~~Gaucelm~~ Faidit says:

"Ni mais non er nulhs hom del sieu semblan,
Tan larcs, tan pros, tan arditz, tals donaire;
Qu'Alixandres, lo reys qui venquet Daire,
No cre que tan dones ni tan mezes
Ni anc Charles ni Artus tan valgues," (4)

With regard to poets and authors, then, only Ovid, "Catola," Terence and Cato are mentioned by name. Historical characters include Julius Caesar, Alexander and Darius. Let us take next the question of allusions to classical mythology. Of these the commonest are mentions of the darts of love, refer-

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- (1) Anglade p. 76.
(2) Op. cit. p. 120.
(3) Lommatsch p. 134.
(4) " p. 156.

ences to Troy, Helen and Paris and Daedalus, besides other isolated figures which are none the less interesting. There are two uses of the expression "god of love" which is odd in troubadour poetry and rather interesting. Although these minstrel poets spoke freely of the arrows of love they had no real understanding or realisation of the pagan conception at all. The arrows were either cast by the lady herself as we saw in the archery similes of Vidal, or else they were glances from her eyes - but the idea of a blind cupid was almost entirely unknown. There is one use of the idea in Guiraut de Calanso's famous poem on "il meno tertz d'amor." Calanso says, "non ve re; mas lai on vol ferir no faill nuill temps," He further tells us that he wears a gold crown. The passage is most striking as we shall see later. The first part treats of love almost in terms of an element, and then the idea gradually crystallises into the classical personification.

The figures relating to the darts of love are as follows:

"Joya m promet et aporta m cossire,
 Quar en aissi sap ferir de sa lansa
 Amors, que es us esperitz cortes,
 Que no s laissa vezer mas per semblans,
 Quar d' huelh en huelh salh e fai sos dous lans,
 D'huelh en cor e de coratge en pes." (1)

It is most important then to notice how the idea of personification contained in the "lans" is absorbed almost at once in the

(1) Hugues Brunet, R. III., p. 315.

troubadour theory of the function of the eyes. In Peire Raimon de Toulouse we find a different use of the same idea:

"Ar ai **ben** d'amor apres
Cum sap de son dart ferir,
Mas cum pueys sap gent guerir
Enqueras no 'sai ieu ges;"(1)

In Peire Cardenal there is a brief detached mention of "il dart d'amor," and finally we have this strange passage from Guiraut de Calanso already referred to:

"Tant es sotils c'om no la pot vezer,
E cor tant tost que res no ill pot fugir,
E fier tant fort c'om ges non pot guerir
Ab dart d'assier don fai colp de plazer,
E no ill ten pro ausbercs fortz ni espes,
Si lansa dreit; e pueis trag demanes
Sagetas d'aur ab son arc asteiat,
Pueis lansa un dart de plom gent afillat.
Corona d'aur porta per son dever
E non vei ren mas lai on vol ferir
No faill nuill temps etc...."(2)

There is one other reference to the god of love in Folquet de Marselha:

"E.l dieus d'amor a.m naftrat de tal lansa
Don no.m ten pro sojornars ni jazers."(3)

Before proceeding further we must discuss this question of the classical treatment of love a little more fully. In Diez 'Poésies des troubadours' (4) there is an important passage on this very point which demands our attention. Diez makes

(1) R. V. 325.

(2) R. III., p. 391.

(3) Stronski p. 33.

(4) Traduction **Little**, 1845.

some statements which are rather remarkable. On page 140 he says: "Voici d'abord une allégorie toute simple empruntée à l'antiquité: la personification de l'Amour. Notez qu'en général l'amour est considéré comme une déesse; ce qui vient sans doute de ce qu'"amor", comme les autres substantifs de cette terminaison, avait cessé d'être masculin. Cette divinité tient une lance ou un dard dont elle blesse les coeurs."

To say that love is "generally regarded as a goddess" seems to me a very remarkable exaggeration at least. Nowhere in Provençal literature have I ever seen love referred to in these terms. Diez makes one quotation in support of his claim which he gives in translated form. It is again from Uc. Brunet and Diez gives it from the same source as the text quoted on the previous page. Without seeming to presume, Diez' translation seems to me, firstly very free, and secondly very erroneous. He begins - "Amour nous blesse aisément de sa lance; déesse invisible elle ne se révèle qu'à l'imagination, s'insinue doucement d'un oeil à l'autre, de l'oeil au coeur, du coeur dans nos sentiments etc." Taking up merely the point which concerns us, can Diez possibly be translating "us esperitz cortes" by 'goddess'? It seems to me very strange and makes one wonder if he really can be dealing with the text of R. III., 315, as he says.

Frankly, I think that Diez is in the wrong. It seems to me that this fairly frequent use of the expression "dart of

love" etc. is not a personification at all. It was a stereotyped expression which the troubadours used as they used other classical materials; that is to say they adapted it to their own purpose irrespective of the connection it might have had, and quite heedless of its original purport. I cannot state too plainly the fact that the intervention of Cupid is not known. It is the lady who wounds by the glance from her eyes. We have to deal only with two mentions of the god of love - the first in Folquet de Marselha is quite perfunctory and is a mere indication of the fact that he had conned his "florilèges" more closely than others. The passage in Calanso where we have a blind cupid, crowned with gold is alluring, but surely it is unwise to draw any definite conclusions from one exception to general usage? As it is, the description is not purely classical. I do not think that the god of love is ever crowned with gold in Latin tradition, but I may be mistaken. Of course it must be borne in mind that in this poem Guiraut de Calanson is dealing with different kinds of love. The description in question is that of the third or lowest form of the emotion, and it is possible that Calanso may wittingly have chosen the emblems of pagan love as representing solely carnal passion. In any case, after a thorough examination of available texts it seems to be quite clear that the new love born of Christian chivalry had quite destroyed the spirit of the old, although a few of its rhetorical appanages remained.

With regard to other mythological references there is very little to say. Helen of Troy and Paris have already become mechanical comparisons, occasionally we find Daedalus mentioned, but there are few other allusions. There is, however, one very interesting passage in a poem of Arnaud de Mareuil where he makes quite a long list of Greek romances - some of the names are familiar, others are not.

Here is a reference taken from Arnaut Daniel:

"Tals m'abelis
Don ieu plus ai de joia
Non ac Paris
D'Elena, al de Troia."(1)

Guiraut de Bornelh has it:

"Cui en sui plus fis
Qu'Elena Paris."(2)

Arnaud de Mareuil touches the well worn conceit with his customary lyric grace:

"Plus blanca es que Elena,
Belazors que flors que pais,
E de cortezia plena;"(3)

In the same poem we find the passage I mentioned which contains an enumeration of names:

"E Rodocesta ni Biblis
Blancaflors ni Semiramis
Tibes ni Leida ni Elena
Ni Antigona ni Esmena

(1) Canello p. 98.

(2) Kolsen p. 216.

(3) Barsteh p. 102.

"Ni.l bel 'Yseus ab lo^pel bloi
 Non agro la meitat de joi
 Ni d'alegrier ab lor amis,
 Com en ab vos, so m'es avis."(1)

From this it is quite apparent that the troubadours were well acquainted^{ed} with certain collections of Greek Tales. It is highly probable that Apollodorus was available throughout the Middle Ages and that writers of romances had frequent recourse to his catalogues, but it seems quite evident that the troubadours knew the myths through Ovid only.(2) In the above passage the reference to Semiramis and Thisbe is interesting because we know that Ovid makes Babylon the setting for his Pyramus and Thisbe story, beginning with an account of the great queen. The reference is Metamorphoses IV., ll. 55 - 165. The story of Leida and the twin eggs was probably known from the Heroides 17. 55. The mention of Antigona and Esmena again proves that the troubadours knew the Theban cycle. The less popular story of Biblis is probably known from Metamorphoses IX., 451. The name Rodocesta is curious in form and suggests no reference at the moment. It might be well be culled from a Provençal romance because we find Blancaflors and Yseut in the same passage, but the word itself does not seem of Provençal origin.

The troubadours then, were certainly very well acquainted with Ovid. I do not suppose for a moment that they possessed all his works, but they seem to have had a large fraction, in

(1) Barstch p. 102.

(2) The troubadours were probably also indebted to the Heroides for their knowledge of the siege of Troy.

fact, what they know of the other Latin authors is negligible compared with their knowledge of this prince of story-tellers. But as I said at the outset, this fact does not really amount to a great deal. The troubadours read Ovid's myths as romances and if they quoted from his *Ars Amatoria* it was to corroborate their own statements. I do not think that in style or treatment they were in any way influenced by the Latin genius.

In Arnaut Daniel there is a reference to "Talant'e Meleagre:"

"Cor sim fo fera e esruila
Er jauzen breuam temps lone.
Qu'il m'es plus fina et ieu lieis certz
Que Talant' e Meleagre." (1)

Canello has a note which runs as follows: "Degli amori di Meleagro e Atalanta ebbe Arnaldo notizia da Ovidio, Met. VIII., 260 segg. Forse non è inutile ricordare che si tratta d'un amore puro, e per una virgine."

Folquet de Marselha is evidently thinking of Midas in the following lines, although he does not mention him by name:

"C'aissi m'es pres cum al fol geridor
Que dis c'aurs fos tot qant el tocaria." (2)

There is only one mention of the siege of Troy which is rather remarkable. It is in Bertran de Born, and the passage is rendered doubly interesting by the fact that the word "Troia"

(1) Canello p. 110.

(2) Stronski pp. 54 - 5.

occurs a second time quite evidently in the sense of some actual place - it might possibly be Troyes? So Stimming takes it at least.

"Mas anc a.l setge de Troia
Non ac tan duc, prince ni amiran
Com ieu ai mes per cantar a mon dan.
A mon **Isembart** part Troia
Vai, sirventes, e di li.m, qu'ieu lo.lh man,
Qu'a .ls reis crozatz es auta quar no van."(1)

Pyramus and Thisbe appear in Guiraut de Salignac:

"Et ieu am la miels e may
No fes Piramus Tibe.
Tan l'am que d'als no.m sove."(2)

There is a mention of Daedalus in Richart de Barbézieux. It is a passage which strikes an entirely different note and shows how confused the minds of the troubadours were with regard to all things classical. They knew very little about pagan thought and were quite incapable of realising what the mental outlook of a pre-christian society might be. It is curious to hear Barbézieux speak of Daedalus as if he were a presumptuous Christian instead of an enterprising pagan.

"Be sai qu'amors es tan grans
Que leu me pot perdonar,
S'eu falhi per sobramar
Ni renhey cum Dedalus
Que dis qu'elh era Jhezus
E vole volar al cel outracuians
Mas Dieus baisset l'orguel e lo sobrans;

(1) Stimming p. 104.

(2) Strempel p. 70 IV.

"E mos orguelhs non es res mas amors,
 Per que merces mi deu faire socors,
 Que maint luec son on razos vens merces
 E luec on dregz ni razos no.s ave."(1)

Guillem Magret refers to the other achievement of Daedalus:

"Aitan val cum s'era liatz,
 Qu'en la maizo de Dedalus
 M'a mes amors aman reclus."(2)

Lastly, in the 'Tezaurus' of Peire Corbiac before mentioned we find this:

"Mas las gestas maiors sai be triadamens
 Ni las elluzios d'aquels decebemens.
 Mas las gestas maiors sai be triadamens,
 De Troia e de Tebas com fo.l destruimens,
 E com en Lombardia venc Eneas fugens,
 Com fetz sos filhs Alcanis d'Albana.ls bastimens."
 (3)

As this passage is not in the least figurative I will not quote further, but the whole poem is most valuable by reason of these classical and historical references and is well worth a close perusal.

With regard to actual parallels in the texts, to passages in Latin authors, there is little left to say as the matter has already been fully discussed. Schrötter published in 1908 (Marburg) a little work called 'Ovid und die troubadours' which contains a short list of obvious borrowings and the work was carried on by Stronski in his book on Folquet de Marselha, the latter

(1) Lommatsch p. 70, 3.

(2) Raynouard III., 423.

(3) Barsteh p. 235.

being one of the most frequent borrowers. Before taking up these parallels in detail I should like first of all to make a few general remarks about figures in Latin poetry. The first thing which struck me as rather remarkable was the fact that in Catullus there are a few ideas identical with certain of the "lieux communs" of troubadour poetry. This is all the more strange as it has always been supposed that Catullus was unknown to the poets of the Mediaeval period. I fear that the occurrence of "Catola" in Marcabru is too slender a piece of evidence to be of any real value, but these quotations may be of interest.

In the last line of his song "Quaeris, quot mihi basiationes" Catullus speaks of the "evil tongue," and, as we know, the tongue of the slanderer was constantly spoken of by troubadours. In no. 4 ("Ille mi par esse deo videtur") we find this:

A glance at thee Lesbia, straight will slay
all I am.....my tongue becomes palsied, a
thrill as of flame passes adown my quivering frame.

Here we have the time-worn conventions of troubadour poetry - the glance that slays the poet, his inability to speak when summoned before his lady, and last, the fire of his love.

In another poem ("Nulla potest mulier tantum") we find this:

No woman e'er could boast herself, I ween,
Lesbia, so greatly loved as thou hast been!
Never could faith in compact holier be,
More sacred than my lover's vow to me.

The same idea occurs again in No. VIII. Surely this is the troubadour's boast of love and fidelity.

In LXXVI. we get a reference to love as a "dread disease" which is not so striking. These passages certainly seem to point to the fact that Catullus was entirely in sympathy with the troubadour outlook. The problem is a very fascinating one, but I doubt whether there will ever be a solution to it.

In Propertius (Lib. I. xiv. v. 4) we find a cry which was very common among mediaeval minstrels "no king can touch my joy's unbounded measure;" but probably all lovers in those days would think of such an expression. In Horace (Lib. II. Car. xvii) we find "that last road that we shall tread no more" (v. 3) But this too is a figure which is only human in its bigness.

In Tyrell's book on Latin poetry (1895) there is a section dealing with figures. He speaks of the great figures of Virgil and of Lucretius, but I am confident that the troubadours owe nothing to either.

Turning to particular instances I quote certain of the parallels dealt with by Schrötter. There really is nothing to

Schrötter: 'Ovid und die troubadours.' 1908 Marburg.

p. 42 am. II. iv. 8:

"Auferor ut rapida concita puppis aqua."

Giraut de Bornelh (Appel Chr. XXII., 35.)

"E d'autra part sui plus despers per sobramar

Que naus, quan vai torban per mar."

Bernard de Ventadom (M. W. I. 24?)

"Qu'atressi soi en balanza

Com la naus en l'onda."

Ars. II. 161:

"Non ego divitibus venio praeceptor amandi...

Pauperibus vates ego sum, quia pauper amavi."

Am. I. iii. 7a:

"Si me non veterum commendant magna parentum

Nomina.....at Phoebus comitesque novem....

Huic faciunt.....at nulli cessura fides."

excite comment further than the fact that five of the examples come from Ventadorn. The ideas of moderation, the fact that "amors per ricor non vai" and that suffering brings its reward, appear to me to be original to the troubadours, that is to say,

I do not believe that they found these inspirations in Ovid, I believe that, already obsessed by these truths, which indeed are common to all love-poetry, they referred to Ovid as an authority on the subject and used quotations from his poems to support their own statements.

In Stronski's edition of Folquet de Marselha, as we have mentioned above, there is a good list of passages which seem to be imitated from classic authors. The list is confined of course to instances from Folquet, but where there is a similar "rapprochement" in another troubadour Stronski notes the fact. He remarks also that strange to say Folquet's name never occurs

Im Roman Jaufre v. 576?

"Amors non esguarda riquesa."

Azalais de Porc:

"Que Ovidis o retrai
Qu'amors per ricor non vai
Dompna met mot mal s'amor,
Que ab ric ome plaideia,
Ab plus aut de vasvassor,
E s'il o fai, il folleia:
Car so diz om en Veillai
Que ges per ricor non vai,
E dompna que n'es chauxida
En tenc per envilainida."

----oOo----

P. 43. Ars I. 477.

"Penelopen ipsam, persta modo, tempore vinces."

Am. III. xi. 7:

"Perfer et obdura dolor hic tibi proderit olim:
Saepe tulit lassus sucus amarus opem."

Jaufre Rudel. Lied IV.:

"Qu'eras say ben az escien,
Que selh es savis, qui aten,
E selh es fols, qui trop s'irais."

in Schrotter's work, although he contains probably more classical reminiscences than any other troubadour.

Here is a selection of the passages quoted which seem most intimately connected with figurative language.

a) I. 1. 17.

"So que m'encaussa van fugen
E so que.m fugh ieu van seguen." G
cp. Bernart de Ventadorn (70,42 - A246,a57)
"Qu'en sec sella que plus vas mi s'orgoilla
E sella fuich que.m fo de bel estatge."

cp. Uc Brunenc 450,1. Peirol, 366, 20 etc

"Quod sequitur fugio, quod fugit ipse sequor,"
(Ovid. Am. 2, 19,36.)

b) I. 22.

"Qu'ardatz sui per paor."
cp. Peire Vidal (364, 37 pièce postérieure à celle de
Folquet.)

"E sui arditz per paor
E sai perden gazanhar
E quan sui vencutz sobrar."

"Audaces cogimur esse metu"
(Ovid. Trist. 1, 4,4)

Am. II., ix., 44.

"Sperando certe gaudia magna feram....."

Peire d'Auvergne S. 89.11:

"Mas per bona atendensa
Esper qu'alcus jois m'en venha....."

Richart de Barbézieux, M. W. III., 36?:

"E per aisso vuelh souffrir mas dolors,
Quar per souffrir son manh ric joi donat,
Qu'Ovidis ditz."

p. 44. Heroid. IV. 10.

"Dicere quae puduit, scribere jussit Amor....."

Arn. de Mareuil, M. W. 1. 151?

"Amors m'a comandat escriure
So que.l boca non ausa dire."

Rem. 47

"Vulnus in Herculeo, quae quondam fecerat hoste,
Vulneris auxilium Pelias hasta tulit."

Bernart de Ventadorn:

"Cum de Pelabus sa lanssa,
Que del sien colp non podia hom guarir,
Si outra vetz no s'en fezes ferir." (in note 62.A4)

c)(1) III. 59.

"Car loucx suffrirs e merces vens
Lai on no val fors a ni giens."

cp. Richaut de Barbezal, 421, 10:

"C'Ovidis ditz e.l libre que no men
Qe per sofrir a hom d'amor son grat," (A. 473)

"Nihil est quod non, arte curaque si non potest vin-
ci mitigetur."

(Plinius, Ep. 8.4,4.)

"Perfer et abdura: dolor hic tibi proderit olim,
Saepe tulit lassus succus amarus opem,"

(Ovid. Am. 3.11,7.)

d) V. 49.

"E.l fuex, qui.l mon, sai que creis a bando
E qui no.l mon, mor en pauc de salzo:

"Vidi ego iactatas mota face crescere flammam
Et vidi nullo concutiente mori,"

(Ovid. Am. 1. 2, 11)

"Amans ita ut fax agitando ardescit magis,"

(Publ. Syrus.)

e) VI. 22.

"Qu'en sai qe.l fuocs s'abresa per cobrir."

"Quoque magis tegitur, tectus magis aestuat ignis."

(Ovid. Met. 4. 65.)

(1) Cp. Schrötter p. 43, the same reference to Ovid and a quotation from Jaufre Rudel, then a reference to Am. II. ix. 44: and a quotation from Peire d'Auvergne and Richart de Barbezieux.

-----oOo-----

Notes from Scrotter (contd.)

Am. II. ix. 7:

"Quid? non Haemonios, quem cuspide perculit heros,
Confossum medica postmodo juvit ope?"

Am. II., ix., 1 - 4:

"O nomquam pro me satis indignante Cupido,
O in corde meo desidiose Peret, Quid me,
Qui miles numquam tua signa reliqui,
Laedis et in castris vulneror ipse meis?"

Bernart de Ventadorn (A. 247.)

"Amors! e cals honors vos es,
ni cals pros vo'n pot eschazer,
S'aucietz allui c'avetz pres,
Q'enves vos no s'ousa mover?"

- f) VIII., 26.
 "De l'ardimen que.m tol paors:"
 cp. Giraut de Bornelh (242, ll. Kolsen, n. 4.):
 "Que farai? c'us ardimens
 Me ve qu'eu l'an razonar
 E paors fai m'o laisser."
 "Speremus pariter et pariter metuamus amantes."
 (Ovid. Am. 2.19.5.)
- g) XI., 39.:
 "C'aissi m'es pres cum al fol geridor
 Que dis c'aurs fos tot qant el tocaria."
 "Ille male usurus donis ait:
 Effici quicquid corpore contigero fulvum vertatur
 in aurum,"
 (Ovid. Met. 11, 102.)
- h) XII., 34:
 "Qu'en cujar es riquess o paubretatz
 Car cel es rics qui s'en ten per pagatz
 E cel paubres qu'en trop ricor enten:"
 (Publius Syrus and Seneca)
 cp. Schrotter pp. 42, 43

There is one other parallel which does not appear either in Schrötter or Stronski and to which I should like to draw attention. It is that of the chains or fetters of love. The

P. 45. Ars. 1, 451:

- "Sic, re perdiderit non cessat perdere lusor,
 Et revocat cupidas alea saepe manus."
 Aimeric de Peguilhan:
 "Atres si.m pren cum fai al jogador,
 Qu'al comensor joga maistramen
 A petitz jocs, pois s'escalfa perden
 Qu'el fac montar, tro qu'es en la folor." (nte.bk,
 13.24.)
- Ferner Heroid. VII., 26.
 "Aenean animo noxque diesque refert."
 Arn. de Mareuil, M. W. 1. 163?
 "Domna cui sopley nueyt e dia...."
 Ars. 1, 42:
 "Elige cui dicas: tu mihi sola
 Places."
 Bernart de Ventadorn, M. W. 1. 28?
 "Ben al chاوزit de las melhors."
 Am. III., ii., 61:
 "Per tibi tot juro testes pompanque decorum,
 Te dominam nobis tempus in omne peti."

The expression occurs in Horace Lib. IV. Car. XI., v.6 - then we find two instances of its use in troubadour poetry.

Raimbaud d'Orange:

"Qu'amors m'a mes tal cadena
Plus doussa que mel de bresca;"(1)

Bernart de Ventadorn (in a tensone with Peire d'Auvergne):

"Dieu lau, fors sui de cadena
E vos e tuich l'autre amador
Etz remasut en la follor."

All this may be extremely interesting but I doubt whether it is of any real value. The troubadours did not know the classics, they simply knew books of selections, curious medleys of all kinds of literature. A person who knew the 'Golden Treasury' from cover to cover could not be said to know English literature and the 'florilèges' of the Middle Ages were not even Golden Treasuries. I do not think the troubadours had any real interest

(1) Raynouard 5.

Schrötter.(contd.)

Bernart de Ventadorn, A. 265?

E vos etz lo meus iolios primiers,
E si seretz vos lo derriers,
Tan cum la vida m'er durans."

Cercamon, Lied. 1, 3:

"Toz tems serai vas lei aclis....."

in the authors of antiquity, their minds did not run in the same groove. Ovid appealed to them for two reasons, first like the children they were, they loved to read his tales and second, as love-poets they understood and admired his wise sophistry. But they were not even interested enough in the extracts they possessed of other authors to inquire who they were or what they had written. They had always been accustomed to hearing and using certain names which they regarded as great but it is very questionable whether they could have explained wherein the greatness lay. With regard to these parallel passages, in conclusion (1) I should like to quote from Savi-Lopez what seems to me a most sensible remark, it is certainly made in another connection as we shall have reason to see later, but its application here is equally fitting.

"Ancora, intorno a noi, c'è chi crede di aver detto qualcosa, affermando che un' immagine è passata da un poeta all' altro, che dall' uno all' altro deriva la cadenza d'un verso o la materia d'una canzone. In ogni campo dell' arte cotali ricerche si vogliono sempre disciplinate e frenate dal buon gusto di un critico, il quale tenga presente che la derivazione non esclude l'originalità, ni la genesi di un' opera si disvela tutta col rintracciare le vie segnate all' artista dai predecessori: ma più ancora io dubito forse che la ricerca delle "ori-

(1) 'Trovatori e poeti.' p. 9.

gini" sia sovente vana fatica per quella poesia cui diamo tradizionalmente nom di lirica, poesia scaldada ai più intimi fuochi dell' anima, infinito cielo in cui spazia libero il volo del sentimento e della fantasia."

Philosophy.

The troubadours were not deep thinkers in any sense of the word; I doubt whether true lyric poets ever are such. They deal with feelings and they work in the realm of the imagination, they do not explore the vast and uncharted regions of the mind. This may perhaps explain the fact that the troubadours appear to have had no interest whatever in the intellectual problems of their day. It seems strange to find in the texts no trace at all of the influence of scholasticism. Apart from references to the seven liberal arts and the seven sages, in themselves scanty, there is no detail which might lead us to suppose that the troubadours were in touch with the schools. The troubadour period was roughly contemporaneous with the first period of scholasticism, that is to say, the time when the great strife between nominalism and realism was raging in Europe, and Abelard was conducting his vigorous correspondence on rationalism. Whereas the Goliardic poetry is filled with reminiscences of these controversies, we find no faintest echo in troubadour poetry. Peter the Lombard, Anselm or Abelard, all were equally indifferent to them. I do not mean for a moment to imply that the troubadours were shallow or superficial; nothing could be further from the truth; they were excessively far-seeing and shrewd, they were very sensible and practical; indeed their

very good sense may have prevented them from taking an active part in a discussion whose ultimate utility they did not appreciate.

I do not think, judging partly from dates and partly from internal evidence, that the troubadours could have known anything of the teaching of Albertus Magnus, far less Thomas Aquinas. Thus Aristotle's doctrine of the soul was unknown to them. Aristotle's Logic was of course a text-book in the first period of scholasticism but I doubt if the troubadours knew the great master except by name. There are two mentions in a curious and very interesting "jeu - parti" between one Guilhem and Guilhem Augier.(1) The discussion is on a favourite topic which constantly recurs in Provençal poetry, namely whether is it better to be rich in lands, or to be wise. Augier says that it is better to be rich and one of his arguments is that Aristotle accepted gifts. Further on, a counter argument is that Aristotle's art and wisdom live, although he is dead. Now, I doubt very much whether the troubadours knew anything at all of that art or that wisdom.

One of the earliest known fragments of Provençal is a poem on Boetius(2) of the tenth century; but it is largely narrative. The trend of thought contained in it is, that worth lies in doing good, that christianity is the only firm basis for a man to proceed from, and that in wisdom lies the beginning of

(1) Barsteh p. 77.

(2) " " p. 1.

reason. These principles do certainly find an echo in the poetry of the troubadours.

In troubadour literature there exists a large number of proverbs, a few of those may have come through Latin, some of them on the other hand are reminiscent of Solomon. In the thirteenth century appears a translation of his proverbs by Guilhem di Cerveira, but it seems to me probable that he was known before then, his name is mentioned in the same "jeu-parti" as above, along with Aristotle. Any philosophic thought present in troubadour poetry appears largely in this form. At the same time there are traces of the influence of religious teaching - remarks on riches and on the value of giving, and references to the Sermon on the Mount. There appear also from time to time evidences of a wide understanding of human nature that might be termed almost philosophical. But the important and striking fact to remark is that formal philosophy in the shape of reconciliation of faith and reason, the distinctive merits of nominalism and realism, had no place in troubadour literature at all.

Turning again to an examination of the texts we find that the figures of speech which might be termed philosophical are very few. They are excessively difficult to classify, and the best that one can do is to pick a few examples from well-known troubadours. Here is a good passage from Peire d'Auvergne.

"Molherat fan captenemen
 Del envezit enganador:
 L'autrui gran gasta e despen
 E.l sieu met en luec salvador;
 Mas selh a cui grans fams en prenh
 Manja lo pan que non l'aban."(1)

Here, we have to begin with, a principle of christian teaching
 and then a practical truth from everyday life. Another curious
 proverbial expression is:

"Qu'ieu tenh l'us e.l pan e.l coutel
 De que.m platz apanar las gens;(2)

The same expression occurs in Guilhem de Poitiers.

"Nos n'avem la pessa e.l coutel."(3)

To have the bread and the knife seems simply to have meant - to
 have the upper hand.

In Bertran de Born there are several proverbial expressions.

"Socora .l dieus! que.l socors vai tarzan:
 Sols aura .l pretz, que sols sofre l'afan."(4)

"No vuolh entrar en guerra ni en conten,
 Quar grieu conquer hom be terra en dormen."(5)

In this quotation from Folquet de Marselha we find the oft re-
 curring remark about riches:

"Per que n'a mais us paubres s'es joyos
 Q'us rix ses joi qu'es tot l'an cossiros."(6)

(1) Zenker p. 142.

(2) Op. cit. p. 87.

(3) Jeanroy p. 26.

(4) Stimming p. 103.

(5) Op. cit. p. 143.

(6) Stronski p. 36.

The following very succinct remark is from Guilhem Magret.

"Qu'autre **blat** ai vist ab fromen
Afinar et ab plom argen." (1)

In Marcabru we find the following:

"Greu sera mais Amors vera
Pos del mel triet la cera
Auz sap si pelar la pera etc." (2)

This is another of those proverbial expressions that were so common - "peler la poire" seems to be the equivalent of "dorer la pillule." In Raynouard V. we find an interesting passage from Guillaume de Poitiers which shows very well the tendency which the troubadours had towards proverbial treatment - as we mentioned above, this characteristic is the nearest approach one finds to philosophical thought.

"E cels qui no volran creire mos casteis
Anho vezer pres lo bosc en un deveis;
Per un albre e'om hi tailla, n'y naison dos otreis;
E quan lo bosc es taillatz, nais plus espes;
E'l senher no'n pert son comte ni sos ses." (3)

Raimbaut III. d'Orange gives us another version of our own proverb "A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush."

"E dir vos ai per que: quar s'en voso
Avia mogut e no.us trazia a cap, tenriatz
M'en per fol; quar mais aenoria seis
Derniers en mon ponh que mils sols al cel." (4)

(1) R. III., p. 422.

(2) Déjeanne XVIII., vi.

(3) R. V. p. 121.

(4) Barstch p. 73.

There is a curious proverbial saying which occurs twice in Peire Vidal, it contains the expression "sweet water from the sea" - it would be interesting to know its origin - possibly "de mar" may mean "from bitter"?

"Pero de mar tra hom senes duptansa
Aigua doussa, per qu'en ai esperansa,
Que sens e genhs e car no m'en recre
M'en traira jois, qu'en als no m'en refre."(1)

The other passage is even more curious but it contains a possible solution. The expression "to draw fire from snow" is used plainly as a parallel. (N.B. It is Jeanroy's reading that "mare" here means the "sea" - I wonder whether it does not mean just "bitter"? Thus to draw sweet water from the sea might just mean to do the impossible. This explanation, however, does not satisfy in the first quotation.)

Here then are the lines:

"E poiran s'en conortar
En mi tuit l'autr' amador,
Qu'ab sobreforsiu labor
Trac de neu freida foc clar
Et aigua doussa de mar."(2)

It must be borne in mind that these few quotations do not purport to be representative of the great mass of proverbial philosophical sayings in Provençal lyric poetry, remembering that we are here dealing with rhetorical language I have restricted

(1) Anglade p. 35.

(2) Op. cit. p. 90.

the examples to those which are either clearly employed figuratively, or which have retained their original metaphorical force. Vidal also contains one of the familiar passages on riches:

"Qu'eu non aus desesperar
A lei d'un rei flac avar,
Cui sobra aurs et argens,
E cuja quar es manens,
Qu'autre Deus no sia
Mas sa manentia,
Qu'avens lo fai renegar;"(1)

Bernart de Ventadorn gives us a really good example of philosophic reflection, again in a proverbial strain:

"Tant er gen servitz per me
Son dur cor filh et iratz,
Tero sia totz adoussatz,
Ab ben dir et ab merce:
Qu'ieu ai ben trobat legen,
Qu'l gota d'aigua que chai
Fer en un loc tan soven
Que tranca la peira dura."(2)

Lastly, Gui d'Uisel makes the following reflection about giving:

"Tots temps serai de preyar temeros;
Sabetz per que? quar sui d'amor arditz:
Quar miels quier hom un don quant es petit,
No fai un gran don tug son enveyos;
E per aisso quar es tan rics lo dos,
Sitot lo m vuelh, ieu non l'aus demandar,"

In conclusion then we find that philosophic thought in the troubadour poetry is confined to quaint proverbial sayings which show a certain broad knowledge of life not unlike that of

(1) Anglade p. 70.

(2) Ray. III., p. 81.

Montaigne, and which occasionally remind one of the style of Solomon. These adages are frequent but they are often used in a glib way which shows that they had become commonplaces and were not the product of real thought. The troubadours were not thinkers according to the lights of their time, or indeed of any time; they were not interested in the problems of life. Their aims were purely artistic, their inspiration was, as a rule, spontaneous feeling, there was no place in their poetry for speculative reflection.

Beast Similes.

The literary attitude towards animals in the Middle Ages is a very interesting problem; it is composed of such contradictory elements. On the one hand we find fantastic superstition and on the other keenness of observation. The peculiar characteristic of the period is of course the existence of Bestiaries - curious medleys of information about real and legendary creatures. They afford a most fascinating study because they show, perhaps more strikingly than anything else, that strange restricted, childlike mind which our early forebears possessed. According to these curious text-books there is only one way of dealing with a lioness - that is to say, you must produce a mirror and show it. When the lioness has seen her reflection she will at once become harmless and move away. The quaint naïvete of these remarks makes it plain that no one had the least idea what a wild beast was really like. Some of the statements are very intriguing - why, for instance, should the panther have a sweet breath? One is left with a feeling of puzzled amazement⁽¹⁾. The word "bazilisk," being Greek indicates that many of those mythological notions came from Greece through Latin - whether they had an earlier origin it is not possible to say, although it is probable. The use of the mirror was certainly a Greek idea it occurs in the Bazilisk legend as in several others, and it figured

(1) Sweet breath of the panther: Aristotle, *Amin.* IV., 8.
Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* XXI., 18.

also of course in the tale of the Gorgon.

There exists a very early Greek work upon the nature of animals, entitled 'Physiologus,' and upon it, most of the Latin bestiaries are based. But this work was mainly allegorical in character. In the Romance literatures the beasts seem to have lost to a great extent their allegorical significance. The best known Bestiary is that of Philippe de Thaon; a contemporary of Fra Benincasa, written in the twelfth century; another version was made by Guillaume of Normandy. It is probable that science of this kind was more widely current in the North than in the South, as bestiarial figures are not, on the whole, common in Provençal poetry.

At the same time there was another current in literature namely that of the beast fables. These fables go so far back as to be completely lost in the most distant past. It is believed that Egypt was the first country to have a literature of the kind; we have a papyrus containing the fable of the Lion and the Mouse which dates from 1200 B.C. It is probable that the fables passed from Egypt into Greece. It is even supposed that there is a connection between Aesop and the word Ethiopian. We know also that the Phoenicians in their wanderings up and down through Europe and the Near East, spread this animal mythology far and wide. Whether there is a connection between the

Indian beast fable and the African one is I believe still a subject of controversy. It is at least certain that Alexander and Darius broadcast a great store of Eastern legend during their European campaigns.

In troubadour literature both these currents are plainly visible. The myth of the bestiary is not on the whole common - it is used most largely by one troubadour, Richart de Barbezieux, and it seems again probable that the good sense of the Provençal poet led him to discard many of those fantastic prejudices. The presence of the beast fable is not so much shown by actual references as by a general attitude. There is a strong tendency to compare the characteristics of men to the qualities of certain animals. At the same time the personality of a few beasts is closely defined, thus we have the wily fox, the lamb, the serpent etc. There are two references to exstant fables - one to the fox and the grapes, and another to the stag and the fountain.

It is interesting also to note that the Persian mythology had made its influence felt even in Provence, the rôle of the parrot being an outstanding proof of this fact, while in addition to the background of fable and fantasy we find in troubadour poetry many figures which owe their inspiration to a natural and sympathetic observation of the habits of animals. All kinds of beasts and birds are mentioned from the cat with its

rough tongue to the nightingale that sings in the springtime. In Savi-Lopez' series of articles 'Trovatori e Poeti' there is a very interesting chapter entitled "Uccelli in poesia e in Leggenda." (1) The chapter deals in detail with the Provençal romance of the "Pappagallo" by Arnaut de Carcasses and contains some very interesting statements with regard to the traditional character of the bird. The author goes on to remark upon the rôle played by birds in love poetry generally, and in the Provençal lyric in particular. Certain passages of this section are well worth quoting:

"Uccelli in poesia e in Leggenda." (p. 151) (2)

"Certo il pappagallo, che fu in India l'uccello sacro sul quale cavalca il dio d'amore Kāma o Kāmadeva, detto perciò anche Çukavāha, il cavaliere del Pappagallo, ha parte in molti racconti indiani: non è necessario ricordare che in bocca ad un savio pappagallo sono poste le novelle del Çukasaptati. Tuttavia, per quanto io sappia, non si conosce un pappagallo indiano che proprio si possa dir fratello del messaggiero d'Antifanor.

(Arnaut de Carcasses)."

Ibid. p. 153. "Indubitatamente, il pappagallo come uccello mitico e leggendario è di origine orientale, e dall' Oriente è penetrato nella novellistica europea. O non afferma ser Brunetto volgarizzato: "Dicono quelli d'India che non ha pappagalli se

(1) p. 151.

(2) Savi-Lopez: 'Trovatori e Poeti.'

son in India, e di sua natura salutano secondo il linguaggio di quella terra?" È notevole però che nella novella dei "Sette Savi," in cui un pappagallo rivela le colpe d'una moglie infedele, e vien rimeritato dal marito con la morte, le redazioni occidentali sostituiscano concordi al pappagallo una gazza..... A taluno pareva che lo squittir del pappagallo suonasse come un saluto in lingua greca: onde avvenne che a Carlo Magno errante per deserti di Grecia si facessero incontro pappagalli, i quali "quasi graeca lingua salutaverunt eum clamantes: Imperator, Vale!"

Ibid. p. 158. "Così popolare era divenuto nella poesia dei popoli latini l'antico simbolo erotico, l'uccello lunare degli Indiani. Questo mito fu noto anche a' Greci, come dimostrano le testimonianze raccolte dal De Gubernatis.....la grandissima parte che gli ucelli messaggieri avevano ed hanno in Francia nella lirica del popolo come nella lirica d'arte. - l'usignuolo, l'alodolo, lo stornello (Marcabru - inspired Peire D'Alvernhe, "Rossenghi el seu repaire").

Ibid. p. 175. "Risalindo per l'antica letteratura di Francia fino alle sorgenti più oscure e più remote, troviamo il canto degli ucelli associato regolarmente al risveglio della natura di primavera. E il risveglio della natura apparve in poesia come suole apparire nella realtà annuale degli uomini un invito all' amore; così che il primo verde e i primi palpiti e li pri-

me variazioni degli uccelli furono note divise ma indissolubili nel grande inno della primavera amorosa e feconda. Si ebbero allora uccelli presentati quali sacerdoti d'amore, celebranti i riti sacri tra i soffi voluttuosi del maggio.....la poesia d'amore aveva sempre al suo servizio messaggieri d'ogni specie: messaggieri sentimentali furono le onde del mare etc.....Gli uccelli avevano una duplice qualità per aspirare a tale ufficio: le ale prima di tutto, e poi la tradizione che li poneva tra i simboli prediletti dell' amore. Così vennero confusi in essi i due temi: quello del messaggero, e l'altro del dolce invito primaverile; e da quell' unione nacque, dopa lunga serie d'antenati, il pappagallo della novella provenzale."(1)

As we found in the case of figures dealing with flowers and plants, there is such an enormous mass of available quotations that it is quite impossible to present them all. We shall confine ourselves, therefore, to a few selections which seem typical of each phase of thought.

Richart de Barbezieux is the troubadour who makes most frequent use of the mediaeval bestiary lore.

1. "Atressi cum lo leos
Que es tant fers s'irais
De son lionel, quan nais
Mortz ses alen e ses vida,
Et ab sa votz quan l'escrida
Lo fari reviuir' et anar,
Atressi pot de mi far
Ma bona domn' et amors
L.m garir de mas dolors."(2)

(1) The idea of birds bearing fire is a universal legend, possibly founded on fact. Persian princes sometimes attached flaming grass to the feet of birds in order to set fire to enemy territory.

(2) Barstch p. 185.

2. "Si cum la tигра al mirador
Que per remirar son cors gen
Oblida s'ira e son turmen
Aissi quan veny lleys cui azor
Oblit mo mal, e ma dolor n'es mendre, etc."(1)
3. "Atressi cum l'orifans,
Que, chan chai, no.s pot levar,
Tro l'autre, ab lor cridar,
De lor votz lo levan sus,
Et ieu vuelh segre aquel us,
Quar mos mesfagz es tan greus e pezans
Que, si la cortz del Puey e lo bobans
E l'adregz pretz dels leials amadors
No.m releven, ia mais no serai sors,
Que denhesson per me clamar merce
Lai on preiars ni razos no.m val re."(2)

and so on in the same strain. In Aimeric de Peguilhan we find the basilisk and the marabotis. Cercamon⁽³⁾ has a charming stanza on the dying swan "fluting a wild carol 'ere her death." Peire Vidal speaks of the dragon and the Phoenix. But, curiously enough, a cultivation of this type of figure in no way excludes the presence of simple and natural reference to the real characteristics of animals. The poem already quoted by Barbézieux in Lommatsch p. 70 is full of these curious fantasies but in the last verse we find a picture of the stag at bay:

"Mielhs - de - Dona, que fugit ai dos ans,
Er torn a vos doloiros e plorans,
Aissi quo.l sers, que quant a fag son cors,
Torna morir al crit dels cassadors,
Aissi torn ieu, donna, en vostra merce;
Mas vos no.n cal, si d'amor no.us sove."

(1) Ray. III., p. 457.

(2) Lommatsch p. 70.

(3) Cp. also Peirol, M.W. II. 1.

However Marcabru is the troubadour who most constantly refers to the habits and characteristics of animals.

It is interesting to find the Arab steed, already famous for swiftness or strength;

- 1) "De sol la paor ai faich fre
Que majorimen aura faich me
Plus fort d'un caval arabit,
E si l'agues faich d'autra re,
Mos ardimens m'agr' enriquit."(1)

2) The following figure is a very quaint piece of realism - love licks when he can't bite - but his tongue is rough like a cat's.

"Lai ou non pot mordre lecha (Amor)
Plus aspramens no fai chatz."(2)

3) Love is also like a refractory mare who does not want to be caught:

"Amors a uzatge d'ega
Que tot jorn vol c'om la sega
E ditz que no.l dara trega
- Escontatz - (3)

4) The wound of love is like a fly's bite - but it is not so easily cured:

"Plus suan poing qu'una mosca
Mas plus greu n'es hom sanatz."(4)

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- (1) Déjeanne VIII., viii.
(2) " XVIII., v.
(3) " XVIII., ix.
(4) " XVIII., x.

These do not by any means exhaust the number of animal figures of this type in Marcabru, but they give a fair idea of the extraordinary range and variety of these, and of the wide field covered from insect to bird. It is supposed that Marcabru's starling "Estornel, cueill ta volada," inspired the "Rossinhose" of Peire d'Alvernhe.

In Peire Vidal also there are one or two good figures of this type. Perhaps the most ambitious one is that of the fox at bay which resembles the stag of Barbézieux mentioned above:

- 1) "Aissi m'en sui gitatz a no m'en cal
Com lo volpilhs que s'oblid' a fugir,
Que no s'auza tornar ni.s pot gaudir,
Quan l'encausson sei enemie mortal.
No.i sai conort, mas aquel del juzen,
Que si.m fai mal, fai lo ad eis lo seu;"(1)

2) Here we find the only mention of the distress of an animal in sickness. The lines would be rather touching if we did not know Peire Vidal so well:

- "Qu'en Provensa sui tornatz
Morir com lebres en jatz."(2)

3) Our final quotation shows us Peire once more in his true colours. He has not died like an hare in his hole at all, indeed he still has a remarkable amount of vitality. The following remarks are really worthy of a Petrucchio and are particularly amusing when we contrast them with the ideals and conventions of the day. It is only fair to add, however, that, as we

(1) Anglade p. 78.

(2) " p. 85.

saw before, Peire is the only minstrel who permits himself heresies of this kind:

"Mas l'austors qu'es pres en l'aranh,
 Qu'es fers tro qu'es adomesjatz,
 Pois torna maniers e privatatz,
 Si's qu' be.l tenha ni l'aplanh,
 Pois val mais d'autre quant a pres:
 Tot atretals uzatges es,
 Qui jove donna vol amar,
 Que gen la deu adomesjar."(1)

The third strain evident in treatment of animal figures we found, was the influence of the beast fables. As we noted above, there are only two references to extant fables. The first is in Montanhagol, one of the later troubadours, and is an account of the fable of the stag and the fountain, which appears, as will be remembered, among the tales of Marie de France. It is interesting to know that it comes side by side in Montanhagol with that fascinating tale of the wise man and the rain, which was the subject of an entire poem by Peire Cardenal(2). The remarkable thing is, however, that Montanhagol succeeds in placing the whole matter before us in an extraordinarily graphic way without exceeding the space of a few lines. This being so, I shall take the liberty of quoting both fables, although, properly speaking, only the second should concern us here.

"Mas d'amor tem que.lh si'a far aissi,
 Per malvastatz que vei part pretz prezar,

(1) Anglade p. 137.

(2) Barsteh p. 193.

"Com al savi fo ja que.s saup triar
De la plueja que.ls autres enfolli,
Per que lui sol tenio.lh fol per fat,
Tro qu'en viret son sen ab lur foldat
E anet s'en en l'aiga ad enfollir;"(1)

"Mais ieu faz com fe le cers, que quan vi
l'ombra dels bans en la fon bandejar,
De.s gran erguelh, tro que pres a gardar.
Vas sos secs pes, e non s'amet aissi
Com per los bans, quar pario.lh delgat;
Pero los pes l'avion restaurat
Tro.l feiron pueys los corns prendr' e aucir;
Qu'ieu lais per lei que m'auci de desir
Mans de plazers qu'amors d'autras daria."(2)

For terse and graphic description these passages are really unequalled in troubadour poetry.

The other reference to a beast fable which we now possess is that of the fox and the grapes; it occurs in a poem by Guilhem de Berguedan, the "Don Juan" of troubadours:

"N'Aymeric, tot enaissi o faitz vos
Cum fetz Rainartz quant ac del frug sabor,
Que s'en laysset non per altra temor
Mas quar non poc sus el serier montar,
E blasma.l frug, quant aver ni manjar
No.n poc; e vos n'etz ab luy acordatz
Qu'aisso que no podetz aver blasmatz."(3)

The existence of these beast fables did, however, produce a certain tradition of thought with regard to animals; namely, the comparison between the moral qualities of man and those of his lesser brothers. This betrays itself in slight expressions of a metaphorical nature. Bertran de Born says that Richard is

(1) Coulet VIII., v.3.

(2) " " v.5.

(3) Tensone with Aimeric de Peguilhan, Lommatsch p. 106.

a lion and Philip of France a lamb.(1) On another occasion he speaks of the "volpilh de l'emperador." Marcabru says "es veziada / Plus que veilla volps cassada."(2)

In addition there are a very few scriptural references, as, for instance, where Cabestaing speaks of the wings of a dove:

"E si voletz qu'eu vos diga son nom ^u
Ja no trobaretz alas de colomp.
O no'l trovetz escrig senes falenza,"(3)

and in Figueira's great tirade against Rome (4) there are reminiscences of "ravening wolves" etc.

In conclusion it is striking to note that the figures which predominate are those accruing from natural observation. Showing again, that the troubadours were realistic essentially, and that they never wandered very far from the bounds of rational good sense.

(1) p. 108.
(2) XXV., iv.
(3) Ray. V.
(4) Barstch p. 226.

The troubadour's geography.

In terminating the present section it would be an omission not to make some slight mention of the troubadour's geographical ideas. They are rather curious and indicate an extraordinary state of ignorance. These Provençal minstrels had, apparently, no notions at all of what the world was like, even the Greek conception of the encircling sea was unknown to them; they never refer to the points of the compass which seems remarkable. The only idea of direction which occurs is that already mentioned in the expression: "From the Nile to the setting sun." The Nile, Jerusalem, Rome and one or two place-names in France or Spain embrace the entire scope of the troubadour's geographical investigations.

The question of place-names is an interesting one. In dealing with their own country the troubadours refer occasionally to the Rhône or to the Puy de Dôme,

"Qui Amor sec, per tals luire:
Cogul tenga per colomba,
S'il l'o ditz ni ver li sembla
Fassail plan del Puoi de Doma." (1)

"Que jes Rozers per aiga que l'engrois
Nona tal briu c'al cor plus larga dotz
Nom passa estanc d'amor, quand la remire." (2)

but they never mention the North of France at all, except in oc-

(1) Arnaut Daniel, Canello p. 99.

(2) POp. cit. p. 115.

casional meaningless references. Sometimes Paris is named, and once Flanders. Strangely enough, the word Brittany appears very often with a reminiscence of the Arthurian Cycle. The poets frequently say such things as this: "the Bretons still waiting for their Arthur," or, "the Bretons must be pleased now they have got their Arthur back." It is also not unusual to find such a phrase as "the lays of Brittany:"

"Cella.m platz mais qe chancos,
Volta ne lais de Bretaigne." (1)

There is an interesting reference besides, to the reported treasure of Chinon.

"Se il reis li da lo tesaor de Chinom
De guerra a cor et aura.n puois poder," (2)

Arnaut Daniel is probably the troubadour who makes most frequent use of place names. In addition to the passage already quoted, he speaks of the Nile, the Ebro, Lucerne(?), the Lernean marsh and Bari. There is one passage which contains several place names:

"Ges rams floritz
De floretas envoutas
Non es plus freses, per qu'ieu no volh Roam
Aver ses lieis no tot Jherusalem;
Pero totz fis mas juntas a lien rendi,
Qu'en liei amar agr' ondral reis de Dobra
O celh cui es l'Estel' e Luna - pampa." (3)

(1) Stronski 'Marselha,' p. 95.

(2) Stimming 'Bertran de Born,' p. 102.

(3) Op. cit. pp. 111 - 112.

Roam is presumably Rouen, representing the English king's lordship over Normandy, Estella and Luna-pampa signify the lordship of the king of Navarre. A few lines further down the word Jerusalem occurs again, this time in conjunction with Sur = Tyre. In l. 51 occurs the curious word "Galecs," which might be taken to indicate the Welsh were it not for the words "reis Ferrans" in l. 55, presumably Arnaut Daniel is thinking of Galicia, the province in N.W. Spain, and the king is Ferdinand. Finally in l. 58 we find:

"C'al coronar fui del bon rei d'Estampa."

The good king is probably Philippe August, crowned on 29th May, 1180. Arnaut Daniel may have received a bounty at the coronation celebrations.

It is very unusual, however, to find so great a number of geographical terms, even in the political sirventes where one would naturally expect to find them.

Peire Vidal makes one interesting reference to Henry of Malta, calling him the star of the Genoese.

"Larcs es et arditz e cortes
Et estela des Gencoes." (1)

In conclusion we quote a figure which is typical of the troubadour's physical geography - not infrequently we find the horizon

(1) Anglade p. 140.

defined in these terms.

"Assatz a a cavalgar
Qui la cuida autra trobar,
Qu'aissi co.l cels clau la mar,
Non pot om gaire trobar
Que non sion camiairitz
Vas drutz e vas lor marritz."(1)

(1) Zenker 'Peire d'Auvergne,' p. 100, VII.

Light. Night and Day.

In a study such as this, it would be an omission not to speak of light in its various forms, for we must remember, that apart from concrete metaphor even, the idea of light was one which was frequently applied to the troubadour's lady. It is generally believed that this love of light was connected with the Virgin Mary and that it was her worship which produced the glorious stained-glass windows in the cathedrals of France. a figure such as the following one gives a fair estimate of the light which always suffused itself from madonna:

"Qu'om no la ve que no se mir,
 Quar sa beutatz resplan tan fort
 Nueg n'esdeve jorns clors egens,
 A qui l'esgarda de dreg hielhs."(1)

So also Cadenet:

"Si quo'l solelhs sobr' autr' alunnamen
 Nos ren clardat(substantive), ben puese dir eysamen
 Qu'ilh es clar datz, e rent alumenatge."(2)

Cercamon.

"Quan totz lo segles brunezis,
 Delai on ylh es si resplan."(3)

Giraud de Calanson.

" Al rissidar,
 Trassalh vas vos cum lo soleil ombratges."(4)

(1) Peire Rogiers, R. III., p. 38.

(2) R. III., p. 250.

(3) Jeanroy p. 2.

(4) R. III., p. 390.

Her beauty is compared to the moon:

".....la vostra (beutatz) que tant es avinens
Qu'atressi creys cum la luna es creyssens."(1)

Indeed Montanhagol writes a most entertaining word puzzle in this connection. He was inspired to do so by his love for Jausserande du Lunel, daughter of the prince of Fretti.

"A Lunel lutz una luna luzens
Que dona lum sobre totas lugors:
D'aqui pren lum jois, dompneis ez amors,
E gais solatz; e beutatz, e jovens.
E quan le lums pres a Lunel luzensa,
Qu'enlumina dans Tolza part Provenza,
Estavo jois e dompneis tenebros;
Mas ara.ls fai Lunels luzir amdos
Le noms del lum es clars e resplandens,
Qu'aitan vol dir als bons entendadors
Gausseranda com gai seran e sors
Cilh qui veiran sos gais captenemens,
E que jois er donatz cui ilh agensa,
E que jauzen seran de gran jauzensa
Ela e celh que volra far joios:
Ver es le noms, qui be l'enten, e bos."(2)

This undoubtedly is a fine riddle and one which we feel, was bound to give its author no small satisfaction. Blacasset, however, felt impelled to offer a little friendly criticism. He reminds Montanhagol that the moon gains its light from the sun, and also that the moon wanes as often as it waxes, so that his comparison is not really very good after all:

"Amecs Gullem, lauзан etz mal dissens,
Qu'en luna ven del soleill resplandors;

K

(1) Richart de Barbézieux, R. III., p. 454.

(2) Coulet I. 1.

"Done, pos luna l'apellatz, ven d'aillors
 En lieis beutatz et enluminamens;
 E car clardatz de jorn toi resplandensa
 A la luna, o negra noitz l'agensa,
 Certz sui, Guillem, segon que dises vos,
 Qu'en **sour** loc luz, per qu'el laus non es bos.
 Amics Guillem, quan luna la pres creissensa,
 Pos ill merma, per qu'el laus no m'agensa;
 Luna non es cil cui appellatz vos,
 Pos, ses mermar, creis sos pretz cabalos."(1)

There are two mentions of the March sun; one is in Arnaut de
 Mareuil:

"Plus bela que bels jorns de mai,
 Solelhs de mars, ombra d'estiu etc."(2)

The other is in Giraut de Calanson and it occurs in exactly the
 same kind of passage - that is to say a heaping up of various
 complimentary expressions:

"Fons de belhs dos, murs contrals Arabitz,
 Solelhs de mars, abrils renovellatz, etc."(3)

The stars are called in to adorn the lady. Calanson compares
 her glance to the evening star:

"El dons esgar val trop mais per vezer
 No fai en mar - l'estela contral ser."(4)

The same troubadour uses "the number of the stars" too when ce-
 lebrating the virtues of the king of Aragon:

"
 Al bon rey dels Aragones,

(1) R. V.

(2) Bartsch p. 107.

(3) Jeanroy, 'Jongleurs et troubadours gascons,' p. 66.

(4) Op. cit. p. 55.

" Quar sa valors
 Es tals quels sieus bos ayys melhors
 Pot hom comtar
 Cum las estelas quant es sers
 E son aders etc."(1)

The same king refers himself to "astre d'amors."(2)

Sometimes "night and day" are called to the aid of the troubadours.

"Per qu'es semblans que l'Orguocills chaia jos,
 Qu'apres bel jorn ai vist far nuoich escura."(3)

"Donna, sai en Normandia
 Sui per vos la noich e.l dia
 Apensos,
 Que.l vostre gens cors joios
 Mi sembla qu'ades mi ria."(4)

The figure occurs also with a religious significance, the following is culled from the works of Folquet de Marselha:

".l jorns es aprosmatz
 E la nuelh ten sa via;

 La nuelh vai e.l jorns ve
 Ab clar cel e sere,"(5)

In the same poem we find light also contrasted with the smoke of evil:

"Glorios Dieus, tramet me lum,
 Que.m get dels huels aquel mal fum,"(6)

As was noted previously, the Virgin Mary is always associated

(1) Jeanroy 'Jongleurs et troubadours gascons,' p. 49.

(2) Cp. Bartsch p. 94.

(3) 'Folquet de Marselha', Stronski p. 56.

(4) Born, Stimming p. 130.

(5) Stronski p. 109.

(6) " p. 109.

with the idea of light. Thus Pons de Capdoil says of her:

"Gloriosa, en cui merces
Es e vera virginitatz,
Lums et estela e clardatz,"(1)

So also Guillaume d'Autpol:

"De paradis lums e clardatz et alba."(2)

and Peire Cardenal

"Tu yest l'estela que guia
Los passans d'aquest paes,
E tu yest l'alba del dia
Don lo dieus filhs solelhs es,"(3)

Bernard de Venzenac says of her:

"Belh' estela d'Orien, dieu vos sal."(4)

A great mass of literature was written in honour of Mary, and thus these figures must be regarded as merely representative.(5)

In conclusion we must quote two light figures which could not be placed under any of the above categories. The first is a fine comparison by Richart de Barbézieux in which he likens love to the sun:

"Tug demandon qu'es devengu d'amors,
Et ieu a totz dirai ne la vertat:
Tot en aissi cum lo solels d'estat
Que per totz locs mostra sas resplandors
E'l ser vai s'en colgar, tot eyssamen

(1) R. IV. p. 90.

(3) R. IV. p. 442.

(2) R. IV. p. 473.

(4) R. IV. p. 432.

(5) They are largely reminiscent of the liturgy, e.g. such passages as the following: "Egredimini et videte, filiae Sion Reginam vestram quam laudant astra matutina; cujus pulchritudinem sol et luna mirantur et jubilant omnes filii Deo." (Introit from Mass of 31st May.)

"O fai amors; e quant a tot sercat,
E non troba ren que sia a son grat,
Torna s'en lai don moc premeiramen."(1)

The other is a comparison to the candle, in the opening lines of a poem by P. Raimon de Toulouse:

"Atressi cum la candela
Que si meteissa destrui,
Per far clartat ad autrui,
Chant, on plus trac greu martire,
Per plazer de l'autra gen."(2)

(1) R. III., p. 455, we shall have a future opportunity of discussing this figure.

(2) Barstch, p. 95.

Love: Religion: Mariolatry.

"Amors mi te jauzent e deleitos,
 Amors mi ten en son dous recalü,
 Amors mi te golhart et esforsiu,
 Per amor sui pensüis e consüros;
 Per amor sui tan fort enamoratz,
 Que d'amor son totas mas voluntatz,
 Per amor am cortesi' e joven,
 Quar d'amor son mei fag e mei parven."(1)

This question is so interesting and so intriguing that one is tempted to say far more than is necessary and to wander sadly from the point. Brevity is all the more imperative in view of the fact that the matter has been treated so often and so fully by various critics. At the same time it seems only fitting to give a short account of the phenomenon and to quote from a few authors. In the first place, as Peire plainly tells us, love was the troubadour's inspiration and it was the burden of his song. But by love, he understood something more than mere feeling; for him it implied some extraordinary and complicated conventions and customs. As we have previously had reason to note, love had undergone the influence of feudalism, rendering the relations between a lover and his lady very like those between lord and vassal. Then we must take into account a fact which seems strange to the modern mind, but which in reality accrues merely from the social habits of the period, namely that court was paid to married women only. This made it absolutely

(1) Peire Vidal, Anglade p. 86.

necessary to observe the utmost secrecy, and it was considered a great dishonour and disgrace if a lady were betrayed through her lover's carelessness or rashness. This explains the use of the "senhal" or disguised name by which a troubadour addressed his mistress - but as a matter of fact these "senhal" were open secrets in the later period of Provençal poetry. As in all times, there were slanderers, and the troubadours made it their special business to inveigh against all such. Those who tried to smirch a lady's name with their evil tongues, were outcasts and dishonoured. In this connection it is interesting to notice that the husband is scarcely ever mentioned at all. The figure of the jealous ill-tempered bourgeois does not belong to courtly love poetry.(1) The position of the lover is always that of the suppliant, who begs for mercy on his unhappy condition. If his love is unrequited as seems to have often been the case, he may blame his mistress for her coldness and reproach her for her cruelty, but no one, except the irresponsible Peire Vidal, went further.

A troubadour went through various stages of advancement just as a squire did in chivalry, until he finally was accepted and recognised formally as the lover of the lady of his choice.

In the second place there was a very real and conscious "psychology" of love - if one might be permitted to use that much abused term. This psychology is roughly summed up under

(1) But we get the genesis of the idea in the Italian troubadours.

the headings "eyes and sighs," courtesy and that elusive word "ensenhamen." Briefly, the troubadour's conception is, that "love is engendered in the eyes, with gazing fed." From the eyes it proceeds to the heart, and the two are so closely connected that we even find such an expression as the "eyes of the heart," while we also find the idea of the exchange of hearts. When love enters the heart, a struggle always ensues - the troubadours often refer to a "strife within." This causes his sighs and it also accounts for the fact that when he appears before his lady, he is tongue-tied. It is worthy of note that this treatment of love appears for the first time, to my knowledge, in Guiraut de Bornelh, who, it will be remembered, was the first writer in the new manner. Where the idea sprang from, I should hesitate to say. Cesare de Lollis explains the origin as follows: "Occhi, cuore ed Amore, Ecco i tre dal cui concerto vien generato il terribile effetto che di sè pervade l'essere umano fin nell' intime fibre.....è ben possibile che tutte le imprecazioni più o men leggiadre delle quali essi son gratificati nella poesia trovadorica d'ogni tempo e poi nella nostra prima, mettan capo al verso d'Ovidio,

"Peccatum oculos est habuisse meum,"⁽¹⁾

Per questa stessa via l'azione degli occhi, primamente determinata nell' esteriorità sua, venne poi fatta oggetto d'una curiosità, smaniosa del nuovo, e a poco a poco sospinta sul ter-

(1) p. 7. Trist. III. v. 50.

reno filosofico.

E il trapisso era oltremodo agevole anche per questo: che gli occhi eran considerati come più vicini all' anima che non gli altri sensi; come tali anzi che la lor funzione si confondesse in certo modo con quella dello spirito in quanto ogni giudizio della mente passa per gli occhi. (cp. S. Agostino, 'De Trinitate,' Parigi. 1614, lib. XI., p. 146: 'Is enim sensus (degli occhi) corporis maxime excellit, et est visioni mentis pro sui generis diversitate vicinior.')

E. Rabano Mauro, 'De Universo, lib. VI., c. 1. ap. 103 delle sue opere nell' edizione di Colonia, 1626: 'Hii (oculi) inter omnes sensus viciniore animae existunt. In oculis enim omne mentis iudicium est. Oculus igitur non solum corporis visum, sed etiam cordis demonstrat intuitum.'⁽¹⁾ The idea went on developing until in later poets like Marselha and Salignac it became a positive abuse. A few quotations will serve to illustrate the point:

Quiraut de Bornelh.

"C'avinens es lo gatges
Que dels olhs al cor salh,"⁽²⁾

"Mos cors s'en vai
Lai on li plai.
Ses cor viu, car ab me no l'ai;
Qu'ilh l'a en baillia!"⁽³⁾

"Tan be'm sap lo cor comtar
La beltat e.l pretz sobrer
Que gran batalha.n sofer,
Car no.i vauc ad espero.

(1) Studi med. vol. I. p. 8, 1904 - 5.

(2) Kolsen p. 252.

(3) Op. cit. p. 174.

"Pois m'en ven us espavens
Que m'en fai dezacordar
E mon ardimen baissar."(1)

Folquet de Marselha.

"....auz i tenc nuoich e jor
Los hupills del cor si que no.ls vir aillor."(2)

The following passage will show to how extraordinary degree of complication the troubadours could attain in what we might call the "exchange of heart system." Of course from the poetical point of view it is an abuse, but if we try to follow its reasoning we will find the points extremely subtle:

"E pos Amors mi vol honrar
Tant qu'e.l cor vos mi fai portar,
Per merce.us prec que.l gardetz de l'ardor,
Qu'ieu ai paor
De vos mout major que de me,
E pos mos cor, dona, vos a dinz se,
Si mals li.n ve,
Pos dinz etz, sufrir lo.us cove;
Empero faitz del lors so que.us er bo
E.l cor gardatz si qom vostra maizo.
Qu'el guarda vos e.us ten tan car
Que.l cors en fai nici semblar,
Que.l sens hi met, l'engienh e la valor,
Si qu'en error
Laissa.l cors pe.l sen qu'el rete;
Qu'om mi parla, manthas vetz s'esdive,
Qu'ieu no sai que,
L.m saluda qu'ieu no.n aug re;
E ja per so nuls hom no m'ochaizo
S.m saluda et ieu mot non li so."(3)

"Qe tans sospirs n'ai gitatz
Per que.l jorn e.l ser
Pert sospiran mon poder."(4)

(1) Kolsen p. 18. - 29.

(2) Stronski p. 35.

(3) Op. cit. pp. 28 - 29.

(4) Op. cit. p. 26.

"Vencutz si er, qu'aucir m'an li sospire,"(1)

Guiraut de Salignac.

"Quar ab sos belhs huelhs mi lansa
Un amoros pensamen,
Si que.l cor enteiramen
Mas i pres qu'ieu ges non l'ai,
E si 'smenda no m'en fai
Del sieu cor, pus lo mieu te,
Sapcha en ver que muer me!"(2)

The "amoros pensamen" is a new idea and marks an important advance, it is the first connection between love and the mind, and Salignac is not the latest of troubadours by any means - his conjectural dates are 1190 - 1250. That troubadours were deeply interested in the origins of love is a fact. Of course they never really got down to fundamental truths, but they were conscious of the existence of problems which they could not solve. The tenzonis bear witness to this and there is a very interesting one upon the very subject of the "eyes," between Salignac and one, Peironet, here are a few extracts:

"Cals manten amor, al vostre sen?"

- I. "Li huoill o.l cor de cel que leialmen
Ama sidonz
- II. "Car li huoill son totz temps del cor messatge.
- IV. Ges per son cor non l'amera nien;
Que.l cor non a huill autr' afortimen
Que am en loc, tro l'uoill mostron la via!
- V. C'amors dels huoills no.vai si.l cor no.n sen,
Ses los huoills pot lo cor francamen
Amar cella q'anc non vie a presen,
Si cum Jaufres Rudel fetz de s'amia.

(1) Stronski p. 16 l.

(2) Strempel p. 70 l.

cp. Hugues Brunet

"(Amor) que no s laissa vezer mas per semblans,
Quar d'huelh en huelh salh e fai sos dous lans,
E d'huelh en cor e de coratge en pes."

VI. "Seign' n Giraut, si l'huoill me son salvatge
 De ma dompna, ja.l cor pro no m'en sia;
 E si.m mostra un semblan d'agradatge,
 Pren mi lo cor e.l met en sa baillia,
 Ve.us lo poder del cor e l'ardimen!
 Car per los huoills amors al cor dissen,
 E.il huoil dizon ab semblan d'avinen
 So que lo cor non pot ni ausaria."(1)

Finally, here are a few figures illustrating the struggle which takes place in the poet's heart and which is often referred to:

Uc de St. Cyr.

"Tres enemicx e dos mals senhors ai;
 Qusquex ponha nueyt e jorn que m'aucia:
 L'enemic son mey huelh, e.l cors que m fai
 Voler tal joy, qu'a mi non tanheria:
 E l'us senhers es amors qu'en baylia
 Ten mon fin cor e mon bon pensamen
 L'autre es vos domna, en ai m'enten,
 A cui non aus mon cor mostrar, e dir
 Com m'aucizetz d'enveya e de dezir."(2)

Peyrols.

"E vuelh be qu'amors m'asalha,
 E m guerrei matin e ser;
 Contra la sua batalha
 No vuelh ja repaus aver."(3)

Mareuil.

"Tot jorn sofre esta batalha,

 Aus torn en eissa la batalha
 D'amor que m'auci e.m trabalha."(4)

"Si m destrenhetz, dona, vos et amors

-
- (1) Strempe! p. 55----
 (2) R. III. p. 330.
 (3) R. III. p. 276.
 (4) Barstch pp. 105 - 7.

"Qu'amar no us aus, ni no m'en puese estraire;
 L'us m'encaussa, l'autre m fai remaner,
 L'us m'enardis, e l'autre m fai temer;
 Preyar no us aus per enten de jauzir,
 Aissi cum selh qu'es nafrazz per murir,
 Sap que mortz es, e pero si s combat,
 Vos clam merce ab cor dezesperat."(1)

The other part of this so-called psychology of love is what we have headed "courtesy and ensenhamen." In these two ideas are contained one of the most important characteristics of troubadour poetry, for from the very earliest times troubadours associated the birth of love with courtesy and ensenhamen. They praised the physical attributes of their ladies but they in no wise neglected her moral and intellectual qualities. In fact the conception of the "dolce stil nuovo" school of poetry, that love is born in a noble heart, is clearly outlined in the whole trend of troubadour lyric verse, until in Montanhagol it becomes a conscious doctrine. In addition we find instances of the belief that true love has a beneficial effect upon the lover and elevates his whole being. At the same time we must acknowledge the fact that this very noble and inspiring treatment of love can be found side by side with the grossest evidences of carnal passion. As a general rule the poems of any given troubadour can be divided into distinct groups according to this change of manner, but very often we find the most extraordinary contrast contained in one single poem. It is quite

(1) R. III. p. 223.

a usual occurrence for a

a usual occurrence for a poem of almost spiritual beauty to end upon a crudely coarse note. We must, however, bear in mind that the troubadours were entirely unconscious of any incongruity and the phenomenon, which, I believe, is a very common one in mediaeval literature, stands out with peculiar force in Provençal poetry. The period of artless unconsciousness lasted for a considerable time, until in later troubadours, under clerical influence, there is a differentiation made between various types of love, and Guiraut de Calanson writes his rather sinister poem on "il menor tertz d'amor." But the striking thing about the troubadour is that his high ideals were uncontaminated by his baser feelings, and that his faith in their potency never wavered. In contrast with the rather artificial doctrine of the eyes and heart, these ideals of courtesy and *ensenhamen* were present from the earliest beginnings of troubadour poetry. We find them clearly stated in Marcabru, one of the first minstrels, and a disciple of Cercamon. He says:

"Ja non creirai, qui que m'o jur,
Que vins non iesca de razim, (grape)
Et nom per Amor no meillur." (1)

Here then is the beneficial effect of love, claimed openly.

"De Cortesia is pot vanar
Qui ben sap mesur' egardar,
Mesure es de gen parlar
E cortesia es d'amar." (2)

(1) Déjeanne XIII., iv.

(2) " XV., iii. - iv.

Marcabru even goes so far as to say that courtesy is love.

"Qui ses bauzia
Vol Amor alhegar,
De cortesia
Deu sa maion jonchar;"(1)

Another very beautiful reference to the need of courtesy in love.

Lastly, we find a distinct forecast of the idea that love is born in a noble heart:

"C'Amors s'embria
Lai on conois son par,
Blanch' e floria
E presta de granar."(2)

In all troubadours we find repeatedly the expression "ensenhamen," it seems to be the highest attribute that could be given to a lady, or to a lord - for we find it occurring in the "planh" - it was more important even than physical beauty. In this connection I should like to quote as typical, a passage from Arnaut de Mareuil which I mentioned before for another reason. It is important here as showing how closely moral and physical qualities were blended:

"Donna, la genser criatura
Que anc formes el mon natura,
Melhor que non pose dir ni sai,
Plus bela que bels jorns de mai,
Solelhs de mar, ombra d'estiu,
Roza de mai, ploja d'abriu,
Flors de beutat, cuiralhs d'amor,
Claus de fin pretz, escrins d'onor,

(1) Déjeanne XXII., vii.

(2) " XXII., viii.

"Mas de do, cap dels de joven,
Cims et razitz d'ensenhamen
 Cambras de joi, locs de donnei, (courtesy)
 Domna, mas jointas, vos soplei;
 Prendes m'al vostre servidor,
 E prometes me vostr' amor."(1)

The following is a good example of the beneficial influence of love, from Gaucelm Faidit (1190 - 1240):

"Tug cilh que amon valor
 Devon saber que d'amor
 Mov larguez' e guais solatz,
 Franchez' et humilitatz,
 Pretz d'amar, servirs d'onor,
 Gen teners, jois, cortezia;
 Doncs, pois so'n mov, ben deuria
 Chascus ponhar, qui bon pretz vol aver,
 De fin' amor leialmen mantener."(2)

Notice please, that the troubadour does not say "fin' amor" because he is contrasting noble love with baser passion, but because to him love in itself is noble.

Here again is an example of love being born in a true heart:

Perdigon.

"E fin' amors no manda ges chاوزir
 Comte ni rey, duc ni emperador,
 Mas fin amic e ses cor trichador,
 Franc e leyal, e que s gart de falhir;"(3)

Examples might be multiplied, but perhaps these few will suffice to show how fine was the spirit of these old minstrels. Surely

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- (1) Barstch p. 102, II.
 (2) Ray. III., p. 295.
 (3) " III., p. 344.

it was this noble faith and lofty idea which won for them their undying fame.

One very striking characteristic of the troubadour treatment of love is the idea that love brings joy. It is joy of love which inspires their song, just as the joy of spring calls forth the song of the birds. They tell us this repeatedly, and indeed, their poetry very rarely strikes a sombre note, it is instinct with vitality and gaiety. It is never morbid because it is never very profound, it leans to laughter rather than to tears.

"Rire deg ieu, si m fatz soven,
Qu'el cors me ri, reys en durmen;
E mi dons ri m tan doussamen
Que belh ris m'es de dieu, so m par;"(1)

How often do we find the expression "sa bella boca rizens"?

In fact the troubadours believed that joy was, or should be, the inspiration of their songs, and if they are going to sing a doleful ditty they always apologise very quaintly or give us involved excuses.

Here are three typical references to joy:

"Reys d'Arago, flors etz d'essenhamen,
Fuelha de gaug, frugz de bos fagz donan; etc."(2)

"Tut jorn perpren e.m creis e.m nais
uns rams de joi plens de doussor,"(3)

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- (1) Rambaud d'Orange, R. III., p. 16.
(2) Almeric de Peguilhan, R. III., 428.
(3) Peire d'Auvergne, Zenker p. 151.

"Im, so sabetz, no.m dey gabar
 Ni de grans laus no.m say formir,
 Mas si anc nulhs joys poc florir,
 Aquest deu sobre totz granar etc."

"Per son joy pot malautz sanar,"(1)

And now we come to one of the most difficult and complex problems of troubadour poetry - one which we can only touch upon here, I mean the curious interplay which went on in the troubadour's mind between religion and love. His love was certainly a religion and his religion, influenced as it was by mariolatry, was inextricably bound up with his ideas on love. As Chaytor says: "If chivalry was the outcome of the Germanic theory of knighthood as modified by the influence of Christianity, it may be said that troubadour love is the outcome of the same theory under the influence of mariolatry. In the eleventh century the worship of the Virgin became widely popular; the reverence bestowed upon the Virgin was extended to the female sex in general, and as a vassal owed obedience to his feudal overlord, so did he owe service and devotion to his lady."(2) Here we have the whole matter in a nut-shell; but we must go a little further. A curious phenomenon of the age was the very human aspect under which Mary was regarded - she was the queen of heaven, she was looked upon even as a "kind of glorified Blanche of Castile." Thus, it was not an unusual thing for a knight to devote himself

(1) G. de Poitiers, Jeanroy pp. 22 - 3.

(2) 'Troubadours' pp. 14 - 15.

to the Virgin as he would to an earthly mistress. At the same time the real women to whom the troubadour addressed his poems assumed something of the prestige acquired by Mary, ~~the~~ Madonna as she appears to us in the poems is somewhat lacking in individuality, she is rather cold and sweetly aloof like a statue in its niche, and, as we have already seen, her moral qualities are emphasised. Paul Aubry says of her....."la dame dans la poésie courtoise, nous apparaît toujours entourée d'une auréole de noblesse, de grandeur digne et calme, je dirais même de vertu etc:"(1) and A. Brun in his pamphlet 'Les troubadours d'après quelques livres récents' says: "Au fond dans leur amante, c'est un même idéal de femme, non une femme qu'ils aiment, et dans la conduite même de leur passion, ce n'est pas le désir qui les pousse, mais le souci de se conformer à un idéal, leur amour est un idéal, dans les deux sens du mot, c'est une idée et c'est une perfection." Thus the Virgin was materialised and woman was spiritualised, in such a way that there was quite certainly a confusion in the minstrel's mind. We must know this in order to understand the curiously equivocal character of many poems. The great pioneer of Provençal literature - Raynouard - noted this trait and commented upon it as follows: "Mais l'un des caractères distinctifs des poésies des troubadours, caractère que nuls autres écrivains d'aucune nation n'ont offert avant eux, c'est le mélange, et je dirai la confusion des idées reli-

(1) 'Trouvères et troubadours,' p. 98.

gieuses et des images d'amour: cette inconvenance naïve, qui, de la part d'écrivains appartenant à d'autres temps, et d'autres mœurs, serait jugée une coupable irrévérence, offre ici une couleur locale, qui est loin de nous déplaire....etc."(1)

He gives us several examples of which I have chosen only two as there are many others of a more striking character:

Pons de Capdueil.(2)

"Per qu'ieu vos am, ja autre pro non aya
Tan finamen que d'al re no m sove,
Neis quan prec dieu, don oblit per vos me."

Hugues de la Bachellerie finds himself in like case:

"Depus mon cor li doneris
Us Pater Noster non dis,
Ans qu'ieu disses: Qui es in celis,
Fon a lieys mos esperitz." [R. III.]

Guillaume de Cabestaing(3)

"Qu'ieu n'ueg e dia,
De genolhs e de pes
Sancta Maria
Prec vostr' amor mi des;"

But here is one from Peire Vidal which is quite remarkable:

"Domna, Deus qu'es leials e vers
Vos a dat pretz, honor e be
Pro mais que no n retenc ab se,
Que mainta gens ditz de vos be,
Que lui renega e mescre."(4)

(1) Vol. II., p. xxxiv.

(2) R. III., p. 174.

(3) R. III., p. 116.

(4) Anglade p. 22.

Guillaume le Duc has two equally striking passages:

"Per son joy pot malautz sanar,
E per sa ira sas morir
E savⁱs hom enfolezir
E belhs hom sa beutat mudar
E.l plus cortes vilanejar
E totz vilas encortezir."

"Plus hom gensor no.n pot trobar
Ni huelhs vezer ni boca dir,
A mos ops la vuelh retenir,
Per lo cor dedins refrescar
E per la carn renovellar,
Que no puesca envellezir."(1)

There is a rather curious expression which occurs once or twice in troubadour poetry and which represents the troubadour on his knees praying to his lady - in the religious sense of the word, because she is not present.

Here is an example from Ventadorn:

"Domna, vas vostr' amor
Jonh mas mas et ador,"(2)

Here is another from Arnaut de Mareuil:

"E can me sui pro trebalhatz,
En get defor abdos mos bratz
E tenc la cher' e.ls olhs enclis,
Mas jointas, debes lo pais,
On en sai, domna, que vos es,
La raizo fas c'auzir podes:"(3)

Perhaps these last two illustrations may serve to show better

(1) Jeanroy p. 23.

(2) Barstch p. 67.

(3) " p. 105.

than any others what the troubadour's state of mind really was. As Raynouard says, this extraordinary blending of the carnal with the spiritual is quite peculiar to troubadour poetry, and gives it a curious charm.

Before closing this section some reference is necessary to Jaufre Rudel's "love in a distant land." The popular legend has been made famous through the poems of Heine and Carducci, but a German critic (Appel 'Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen' t. 107, p. 338) has suggested that this "amor de lonh" is Mary herself.⁽¹⁾ Jeanroy⁽²⁾ in speaking of the new manner of poetry as shown in Montanhagol refers to this theory of Appel's as a proof of the equivocal nature even of early troubadour poetry, but he regards it as rather exaggerated. Chaytor also refers to the same passage in his "Troubadours" - he says: "It has been supposed that the Virgin was the mysterious love sung by Jaufre Rudel and the supposition is not inconsistent with the language of his poems."⁽³⁾ Presumably Chaytor is thinking of such a passage as this:

"Iratz et gauzens m'en partray,
S'ieu ja la vey, l'amor de lonh:
Mas non sai qu'on as la veyrai,
Car trop son nostras terras lonh:
Assatz hi a pas e camis,
E per aisso no n suy devis.....
Mas tot sia cum a Dieu platz!"

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- (1) Monaci believes her to be Eleanor of Poitiers, Appel the Virgin Mary. Lopez discusses and refutes both theories. (He believes that this confusion between Mary and earthly love was only a late development.) 'Trovatori e Poeti,' P. Savi-Lopez, p. 79.
 (2) Revue des deux mondes, fev. 1903.
 (3) p. 92.

"Ja mais d'amor no.m jauziray
 Si no.m jau d'est' amor de lonh,
 Que gensor ni melhor no.n sai
 Ves nulha part, ni pres ni lonh;
 Tant es sos pretz verais e fis
 Que lay el reng dels Sarrazis
 Fos lieti per lieys chaitius clamatz!"

Jaufre Rudel is something of a mystic and his idealisation of women is carried further than it is in other cases. Rudel is probably conscious of the incongruity between the ideal of womanhood and its reality. He knows that it is something which could only be attained with difficulty. I do not think for a moment that he meant "l'amor de lonh" to represent the Virgin Mary, but on the other hand, the above verses are the direct outcome of this new spiritualised attitude towards women.

In conclusion, it is surely only fair to ask ourselves, what does the troubadour himself say about love, and to what does he liken it?

In the first place one could not expect to find any abstract conception of love. "Amors" is always a person, but he has little or no personality; the troubadour never has a vision of him though he occasionally says that he meets him in his path - in short he is merely an agent. At the same time he is to be respected because of his power to wound and his ruthless character. This personification is of course a mere inheritance from classical mythology, in the first instance, but we

had occasion to note previously that Amors chooses a heart where courtesy reigns and where there is moderation and restraint; in addition Amors strongly dislikes any show of rebellion or pride - we must submit to his will thus:

"En aissi vins e destrenh e sobransa
 Selhs qu'a sos ops vol triar et eslire,
 Mas aissi a un perilhos martire
 Que sa dolors vol que si' alegransa,
 E dels sieus tortz que il refeir' hom merces,
 E contr' orguelh qu'om si' humilians;
 Qu'amor no vins menassa ni bobans
 Mas gens servirs e precx e bona fes."(1)

Beyond this, there is really nothing further to say. As was pointed out earlier, the differentiation between pure love and carnal passion was a later development.

The troubadours seem, above all things, to have regarded love as something which takes root and grows like a plant. This figure is found constantly in embryonic form and more elaborate examples of it are fairly frequent. Here is one from Marcabru:

"C'Amors s'embria
 Lai on conois son par.
 Blanch' e floria
 E presta de granar."(2)

Peire Vidal -

"Non es nulhs jorn s'amors el cor no.m brolh."(3)

- (1) Hugues Brunet R. V., p. 315.
 (2) Déjeanne XXXII., viii.
 (3) Anglade p. 58.

Miraval:

"Car per solatz e per chan
Creis amors e brot' e rama."(1)

Arnaut Daniel:

"Er vei vermeills, vertz, blans, blancs, gruoos
Vergiers, plans, plais, tertres e vaus;
Eil votz dels auzels sona e tint
Ab doutz acort maitiu e tart.
Som met en cor qu'ieu colore mon chan
D'un' aital flor don lo fruitz sia amors,
E jois lo grans, e l' olors de noigandres."(2)

Compare

"Donc mi fueilla em floris em fruch' Amors
El cor."(3)

In rather a curious line Marcabru describes love in terms of colour:

"L'amour blanc, vair, pie, plein de noireur."(4)

In the following passage from Arnaut Daniel we have quite a different conception, that of love having a strong castle in which he shuts up his victims:

"Ar sai ieu c'Amors m'a condug
El sieu plus seguran castel
Don non dei renda ni trahug,
Ans m'en ha fait don e capdel;
Non ai poder ni cor quem vir' aillors,
Qu'ensenhamens e fizeutatz plevida
Jai per estar, c'a bon pretz s'i atorna."

(1) Barstch p. 165.

(2) Canello p. 112.

(3) " p. 100.

(4) Déjeanne XXIV., i.

Lastly, here is a figure from Folquet de Marselha. It is not in the least typical of the general treatment. It is rather, an instance of that peculiarly artificial manner which characterised a few of the later troubadours:

"Per so, Amors, mi soi ieu recrezutz
De vos servir, que mais no.n aurai cura;
Q'aissi cum prez' om plus laida pintura
De loing, no fai qand l'es de pres venguz,
Pregav' ieu vos mais qand no. us conoissia,
E s'anc vos vole, mais n'ai qu'er no volria:"

Apart from these examples "Amors" really receives no independent treatment at all. It is regarded more or less as an agent and not as the resulting mental emotion. Figurative treatment is, on the whole, reserved for the lady and for the poet's feelings.

Intervening Section.Troubadours of Italian Origin.

Thanks to Bertoni's invaluable work 'I Trovatori d'Italia' it is possible to deal with troubadours of Italian origin in a group by themselves. This affords rather an interesting study and it forms a real and substantial link between the troubadours proper and the early Italian schools of poetry. As we shall see, it will be possible to pick out a few characteristics which were destined to have a substantial development in the vernacular poetry.

As Bertoni points out, Provençal poetry in Italy suffers from mechanical imitation. This of course is natural, and we should not expect to find the same spontaneity and verve in these trials of skill in the using of a foreign tongue. Taking into account such notable exceptions as Lanfranc Cigala, Bonifacio Calvo, Sordello etc., it must be admitted that this rather artificial school of poetry lacks "the first fine careless rapture" which inspired the Provençal minstrels. Bertoni says: "Vero è, per fortuna che fra i tanti vecchi e comuni motivi, spiccano, qua e là, gli accenti patriottici di Peire de la Caravana, le instigazioni del Panzano contro il clero e dello Zorzi per la morte di Corradino; ma queste voci sono troppo isolate, perchè passano contrastare all' impressione di servilità che la

musa occitanica in Italia produce di fronte a quella provenzale. In generale, gli Italiani ricalcarono i modelli d'oltr' Alpe, anche laddove riuscirono ad aver prova d'una loro personalità."(1)

"Che cosa potremo noi dire degli altri trovatori italiani? Caratterizzarli, gli uni di fronte agli altri, è impossibile. Hanno tutti un patrimonio comune di concetti accattati quà e là; hanno tutti su pergiù le stesse immagini ricalcate su quelli dei migliori trovatori d'oltre li Alpi etc."(2)

But, as we mentioned above, there are some decided differences. On the whole, the poetry is much more reflective and has a higher moral tone, we even have a reference to the inspiration of "reason" - in, of course, a limited sense:

"No.m fai chantar amors ni drudaria,
Ni.m fai chantar flors ni foillas ni bruz
Que fan l'auzel, ni per cho no seria
Plus chantaire, tan ni qan, ni plus muz;
Qu'atressi chan, quant l'ivers es venguz,
Cum fas la 'stat ni la Pasca floria
Qan chans mi plai, ni razos lo m'aduz."(3)

The moral qualities of the lady are much more insisted upon, mental qualities too are required - good sense and understanding being frequently mentioned, and the fact that all esteem her is constantly proclaimed. The Italian troubadours claim in addition for their ladies the power to make the world better. Another comparatively new idea is, that it is only those who are worthy who should gaze upon madonna - nothing unworthy can flou-

(1) P. 148.

(2) p. 157.

(3) Peire de Luserna, Bertoni p. 278.

rish in her presence. Two quotations will suffice to illustrate the point:

"Ha, domnas, con es pres delz
 E iois e deduich e solaz,
 Cum no faiz ço que far degraz!
 E pograz lo segl' enantir,
 Amar, honrar et acoillir
 Cels en cui son finas bontaz,
 Per qe represas no fossaz;
 E cacher cels de cui se fac;
 Que ben taing qe cels si'auniz
 Ves cui nuilla bontaz no.s trahi.
 Et aissi fora.l monz gariz
 E.l vostre prez ders et auchaz,
 Que per vostras finas beltaz
 Pograz tot lo mont enriqueir. etc."(1)

"Mas una ren dic ben de part la flor
 A trastotz cels qez hom ten entendens
 De las prezans e de las plus valens
 E qui se.n faut saben e chausidor,
 Que tot enans c'om sa beutat remire
 Ni que de lieis vezer sia lauzire,
 Gart si meteis qui'l es ni si.s faria
 A lieis vezer, que, s'aisso no.is taignia,
 Apropp l'esgart non sera poderos
 De ren parlar, tan tornera oblidors."(2)

In a study of this nature one is certainly liable to over-emphasise details, but it seems to me that one can safely, without undue exaggeration, point to a more reflective frame of mind in the Italian troubadour lyrics. This of course can be linked to the fact that the poems are much less figurative and spontaneous. We encounter a certain enquiring spirit which is apparently a new departure. As, for example, in the two following passages. The first is a tenzone between Aycard del

(1) R. Buvallelli p. 235.

(2) " p. 224 - 5.

Fossat and Girardo Cavallazzi. The point at issue is briefly this, given that heaven and hell are what people suppose them to be, in which would you rather spend a month, granted that you will feel neither joy nor pain. The whole tenzone is most interesting and merits attention, we shall confine ourselves here to two verses; but these are typical of the speculative attitude throughout the poem.

"Servisi fagh per paor son venal,
Aycard, per qe no fan gaire a grazir,
Q'ieu non vei un gen far ni ben merir;
Mais s'ieu serf Dieu per sol' amor coral,
Conqier son grat d'agel servir e.l meu;
E qar trastugh e Latin et Ebreu
Fol e senat van infern maldizen,
Voill vezer zo don chascus a talen.

Girard, dur es zo qe mon d'altretat;
Don, s'infern vei, pro n'aurai eu qe.n mir
D'esquivar mal; qar plus dopta morir
Qi ve sa mort q'aicel q'es en loc sal;
E s'aisi es qon aug legir el breu
O qon vei peingh e escrigh a la pleu,
Greu pot nuls jois dar tan d'esbaudimen
Qon dona infernz, qi.l mira, d'espaven."(1)

The next passage is one from Lanfranc Cigala and we are tempted to term it even deeply reflective. Its very subject is foreign to the usual trend of Provençal verse, it treats of death and sin. After the first three stanzas the poem resolves itself into a fairly typical hymn of prayer to the Virgin, but these opening lines seem rather remarkable; indeed the first word is

(1) pp. 303 - 4.

one which troubadours are not wont to use.

"Pensius de cor e marritz
Cobleiare, car mi platz,
E non voil esser blasmatz
Si mos chanz non es grazitz
Tant qom s'ieu era alegranz,
C' anc iocs ni solatz ni chanz
Ses alegrer non agron lur saizon,
Mas chantar voill, vailla mos chanz o non.

Pero s'ieu tot sui marritz,
Qan eu sui pro apensatz
Meravillas vei assatz,
Mas d'una.m sui esbaitz,
Don sui trop meravillanz
Car passa totas las granz,
Coissi pot far mesfag ni faillizon
Hom qui de mort non cuid' aver perdon.

Mas chascus, don sui marritz,
Stai de mort asseguratz,
E sap que non er mudatz
Que chascus er sepellitiz,
Mas qui non laissa.ls enianz
Sembla qe.n sia doptanz,
Car qui tailla de sa mort lo baston
Non ere morir o sabers no.ill ten pron."(1)

Lanfranc Cigala is probably the most meditative of the Italian troubadours, he is inclined to ponder over things and to have discussions with himself about questions which puzzle him.

Lastly, there appears to be a growing consciousness of the artificiality of the May morning conception. Quite frequently it is discarded as being an unfitting opening to a poem, e.g.

"No.m fai cantar amors ni drudaria,

(1) pp. 366 - 367.

"Ni.m fai chantar flors ni foillas ni bruz
 Que fan l'auzel, ni per cho no seria
 Plus chantaire, tan ni qan, ni plus muz;
 Qu'atressi chan, quant l'ivers es venguz,
 Cum fas la 'stat, ni la Pasca floria
 Qan chans mi plai, ni razos lo m'aduz."(1)

Refutations of this kind, of course, do occur in Provençal poetry proper, but as a rule they are proffered with an excuse and an apology.

With regard to figures of speech there is very little that can be said. Bertoni points out, as quoted previously, that the figures are culled exclusively from the Provençal troubadours. To this statement one might add that the Italians are not fond of figurative language, they are more restrained and less florid in style. The actual examples of figures might all be classified under the headings previously used. If any comment is permissible, it would be, that the Italian troubadours seem particularly fond of "Roland and Oliver," and of the mirror comparison.

Coming now to a more detailed examination of the texts, we find one or two characteristics which might be noted as showing a distinct difference from the Provençal school, and as foreshadowing a usage or usages in vernacular Italian poetry.

1. In Bertoni, p. 475, there is a tenzone of doubtful attribution between "Lantelm e Raimon" which would seem to be dis-

(1) Peire Guilhem de Luserna p. 278.

tinctly under the influence of Italian popular poetry. In it the jealous husband (*maritz ielos*) plays an important role, it is, in short the typical love intrigue of early Italian "bourgeois" song. But after all, it is rather remarkable that this should be the only conspicuous evidence of such an influence.

2. In Sordello's famous "planh" for the death of Blacatz we find occurring that curious idea of eating a heart. This is particularly interesting because although we do not find the phenomenon in troubadour poetry, we find it in one of the lives of the troubadours. In the "planh" Sordello enumerates those who would benefit by eating part of Blacatz' heart. The Provençal legend is, briefly, that Cabestaing is slain by a jealous lord, who makes his lady eat her lover's heart. He then tells her of the truth and she throws herself from a window. Ida Farnell in her 'Lives of the Troubadours' says in this connection: "As to the manner of his death, similar stories are to be found in various parts of the world, all probably having their origin in an old Indian "Beast Fable." The gruesome tale of Guillaume Cabestaing certainly might have come from the Arabian Nights - so oriental is it in character; but I cannot credit it with being originally a "beast" fable. The question is a very interesting one, particularly in view of the passage in the Vita Nuova⁽¹⁾ where Amor makes Beatrice eat the heart, in Dante's dream, and it seems to me one about which more might be said.

(1) cp p. 615

Notice that there is a wide gap between the use of the idea in Sordello's "planh" and the legend in the lives. Sordello's usage is more approaching that symbolism which was to become so widespread a cult in early Italian poetry; and thus it may well mark a development in thought, or prove the result of a new influence.

3. In Rambertino Buvalelli we come across another very interesting detail, I mean the introduction of a "screen lady." So far as one can see, there is no instance of this custom in Provençal troubadour poetry; perhaps it would be rather bold to assume that it must have been an idea of Italian origin, upon so slender a piece of evidence, but at the same time the occurrence has a certain significance in view of the extraordinary complication which the system had reached by the time of Dante's 'Vita Nuova.' Here then is the passage:

"Car enveios e lausengier
 Per cui mainz bes d'amor dechai
 Me.n fan paor, per qe.m suffer
 Que mon ioi non die ni retrai,
 Auz faz cuiar a mantas genz
 Q' aillors sia mos pessamenz;
 E puosc o ben far senz temer,
 Pos mos fis cors en sap lo ver."(1)

4. There is an interesting dream and interpretation by Giovanni d'Albusson e Nicoletto da Torino(2). It is a political subject - an eagle which represents the emperor. The explana-

(1) R. Buvalelli p. 220.

(2) Bertoni p. 256.

tion of the vision is very detailed and it reminds one forcibly of the dreams in the Bible. It is the second instance of a dream which we have encountered - the other being in Guiraut de Bornelh.

5. Lastly there is rather a striking poem by Bonifacio Calvo which seems worthy of comment. Curiously enough it is omitted by Bertoni, though it is more outstanding than the poems which he has actually quoted by the same author. The peculiar nature of the poem is that it concerns the death of a lady - it is a poem of mourning. "Planh" of this kind were not unknown in Provençal troubadour poetry and in this connection I should like to refer to P. Savi-Lopez' critical work entitled 'Trovatori e Poeti.' Savi-Lopez enumerates the troubadours who have composed what he calls "Pianti per la donna morta" - they are as follows:- Gauvaudan (or Gavaudan) - a somewhat obscure troubadour who is known by Raynouard as "Gavaudan le Vieux;" Pons de Capdoil, Aimeric de Peguilhan, Lanfranc Cigala, and Boniface Calvo. He pays a most important tribute to the worth of these poets and regards their influence as being considerable, on the vernacular poetry of the early Italian lyric school. From pages 24 - 32 he gives an interesting account of these poems and others, and he points out that the character of the "dolce stil nuovo" is distinctly foreshadowed. He mentions as particular instances of this, the poet's attitude to God with regard

to madonna, her place in Paradise - how her presence is desired by the angels - and so on. In conclusion he says:(1)

"Queste donne sono già participi della divinità, le rare voci desperse nella lirica occitanica si fecero coro nel dolce stil nuovo; ma la via era segnata, e tutta la filosofia che i nostri poeti appresero dai Padri o da altri non aggiungerà nulla a tale concezione della donna e dell' amore."

This is certainly putting the case very strongly but I do not think that it is an exaggeration of the facts; and what Lopez says of all five poets is true of Boniface Calvo. Without wishing to be unduly emphatic, I regard his poem as being quite outstanding, and accordingly quote it in full:

"S'ieu ai perdut, no s'en podom jauzir.
 Mei enemic, ni hom que be no m voilla,
 Car ma perda es razos qu'a els dueilla
 Tan coralmenz que s deurian aucir,
 E totz lo monz aucire si deuria,
 Car morta es mo donz per cui valia
 Pretz e valors, e s'en, chaitius, saupes
 Chauzit tal mort que pieg far mi pogues
 Que ma vida, senz tardar m'auciria.

E car non pose peiurar ab murir
 Mi lais viure tant trist que flors, ni fuoilla,
 Ni nuls desportz non a poder que m tueilla
 Ren de'l dolor, que m fai metr' en azir
 Tot so que mais abellir mi solia;
 Car despieg mi capdell, et ira m guia
 E m met en luec on no viuria res
 Mas ieu qu'ai tant de mal souffrir apres
 Qu'en viu d'aisso don totz autr' om moria.

E viu tan greu qu'eu non pose ges soffrir

(1) p. 33.

"Que plors non semen' e dols non recueilla
 Per la mort de la bella que m despueilla
 De tot conort, pero eu non dezir
 Aver poder ni voler n'ueg ni dia
 Di mi loingnar del maltrag que m languia,
 Pois c'a dieu plac que mortz cella m tolgues
 Dont venia totz mos gaug e mos bes,
 Et tot cant ieu d'avinen per sabia.

Tant era dreich' en tot ben far e dir
 Qu' eu non prec dieu qu'en paradís l'acueilla,
 Quar per paor q'aia ni aver sueilla
 Qu'el l'aia mes en soan non sospir
 Ni plaing, car al mien semblan non seria
 Lo paradís gent complitz de coindia
 Senz leis, per q'en non tem ni dupti ges
 Que dieus non l'ai ab se, lai on el es,
 Ni m plaing, mas car sui loing de sa paria.

Fols mi par cel que cor met ni consir
 El joi del mon, e plus fols qui s'orgoilla
 Per tal joi, car autr' inchaizos non moilla
 Mon vis de plors, ni als no m fai languir
 Mas la membranza del joi qu'eu avia
 Del bel capteing e de la cortezia
 Qu'eu trovav' e mi donz, e s'en agues
 Saubut que tant mal prendre m'en degues,
 Non prezera' l joi ni ar m'en dolria.

Ai! flors de valor e de cortesia
 E de beutat, ai! bella douz' amia,
 S'il mortz complice son voler qan vos pres
 Ieu en remaing tan doloros que res
 Alegrar ni conortar no m poiria."

'Giornale Storico XXVIII.: Pelaez 'Bonifacio Calvo.'

"L'ultima poesia del gruppo delle amorose è un compianto per la morte di una dama, che non sappiamo chi fosse. Qui la poesia di Calvo s'innalza a un' altezza che non ha la pari nelle altre liriche. Sono ricordi della bellezza, della bontà, della gentilezza della donna, uniti ai sospiri e al pianto, che la

sua morte ha cagionato al poeta. Si notino, in ispecial modo, la 2, 4 e 5 stanza.....la poesia merita di esser letta tutta e ammirata etc."

In conclusion, it seems apparent, that although no one Italian troubadour could be singled out from his Provençal "confrères" as being of a different type, at the same time, the Italian troubadours as a group would appear to contain certain new characteristics. In reading the texts one is conscious of a subtle change in temperament or atmosphere, as if we could hear these old Italian minstrels singing Provençal with a strange accent; in addition we realise that the mind of the poets is becoming more alert, more thoughtful and more speculative, a few new ideas are insinuating themselves, one receives a passing glimpse of popular song, but lastly and most important, figures of speech, though thinned considerably in number, are identical with those of the Provençal muse and have sustained no apparent change in quality.

And before passing on, we must emphasise strongly the fact, that there were Italian poets writing in Provençal before Italy produced a poetical language of her own.

Italian Section.

Early Italian lyric poetry.

Having discussed the schools of Provençal literature in France and Italy, we find ourselves confronted with the problem of Italian vernacular poetry; and before embarking upon the task we feel it imperative to spend some little attention upon the chronological side of the question so that the mode of treatment to which we have adhered may not produce an erroneous impression.

To this intent a time-chart has been drawn up of the periods under discussion. It will be noticed that the second school of Provençal troubadours was contemporaneous with the much smaller school of Italian troubadours and with the first era of the Sicilian school, e.g. Perdigon, Lanfranc Cigala and Pier della Vigna were all living at the same time. In the same way, the last Provençal and Italian troubadours were contemporary with the second era of the Sicilian school, with the intermediate central Italian school, and with the earliest imitators of the *dolce stil nuovo*. Thus, to take another example, Aimeric de Peguilhan and Sordello were living at the same time as Rinaldo d'Aquino, Chiaro Davanzati, and Guido Guinizelli. It is therefore apparent that when dealing with the various modes of Provençal and Italian poetry, we are not in reality

confronted so much with successive stages of development as with developments of a different nature, except of course when we come to the "dolce stil nuovo" group. We wish, however, before proceeding, to make it quite clear that, for instance, the "lirica dottrinale" was not an evolution of the "scuola siciliana," it was merely Provençal inspiration assuming a different form. Apart from the question of time relations the treatment of the subject must be carefully examined from another point of view. We find ourselves, at the outset, faced with a difficulty - how is the problem to be approached? The imitation theory which was greatly in vogue with early Provenço-Italian critics, has been attacked severely by more recent critics. A good deal of discussion has arisen out of this point. "Did the Italians imitate the Provençals?" Two, at least, of the modern writers are emphatic in their denial. The first is P. Savi-Lopez, whose criticism is of a broad and general character. In the volume 'Trovatori e Poeti' ⁽¹⁾ he makes the following statement:

"Ancora, intorno a noi, c'è chi crede di aver detto qualcosa, affermando che un' immagine è passata da un poeta all' altro, che dall' uno all' altro deriva la cadenza d' un verso o la materia d' una canzone. In ogni campo dell' arte cotali ricerche si vogliono sempre disciplinate e frenate dal buon gusto di un critico, il quale tenga presente che la derivazione non esclude l' originalità, nè la genesi di un' opera si disvela

(1) p. 9.

tutta col rintracciare le vie segnate all' artista dai predecessori: ma più ancora io dubito forse che la ricerca delle "origini" sia sovente vana fatica per quella poesia cui diamo tradizionalmente nom di lirica, poesia scaldata ai più intimi fuochi dell' anima, infinito cielo in cui spazia libero il volo del sentimento e della fantasia."

With regard to the first part of this paragraph, it seems only fair to point out that parallel images and borrowed conceits are points of real interest to a student, and that they have a certain utility in the comparative investigation of poetry, so long as they are not regarded as being of paramount importance. Good taste in a critic does not appear to me to be sufficient, good judgment is a more imperative qualification. Be this as it may, the last comment of Lopez is, at least, misleading. The flight of sentiment and fancy in early Italian lyric poetry was not by any means free, it was limited to a large extent by the conventions and traditions of Provençal troubadour poetry. We believe it is true that the original spontaneous outbursts of song have not been recorded in any language. The first fragments of lyric which we possess, do not come from an "infinite sky," but from one which has very well-defined horizons. At the same time we heartily endorse the opinion of the writer that derivation does not exclude originality and that the genesis of a work is not discovered merely

by tracing out the paths pointed out to the artist by his predecessors.

In the 1924 edition of Cesareo's 'Origini della poesia lirica' we find a more detailed discussion:

"Per dimostrare la derivazione immediata della poesia siciliana dalla provenzale, si son tirate in mezzo anche le immagini e i paragoni; insomma il materiale rettorico. Codesta a me pare una esagerazione. Se si trattasse d'immagini così particolari, di paragoni così nuovi, da non potere venire in mente se non a' poeti occitanici, intenderei. Ma il più sovente si tratta di figure comuni, non a quelle due sole, ma a tutte le letterature dell' Europa; di figure, che dovevan essere allora, come in parte sono ancora oggi, nella bocca di tutti, derivando dall' osservazione di fatti della vita ordinaria. E allora l'imitazione non c'entra.

Se i trovatori siciliani hanno invocata la loro donna rosa, rosa aulente, rosa fresca, rosa di maggio, miraglio, stella, sole e simili; se hanno giurato che la natura non poteva far cosa più bella dell' amata; se hanno protestato che non cederebbero per un regno l'amore di lei, e che per lei voglion morire; non per ciò hanno imitato i poeti occitanici. Cotali immagini si potevano e si dovevano trovare nel linguaggio comune de' due popoli; come si trovan pur oggi nella poesia, o popolare o letteraria, di qualunque paese. Va notato il medesimo d'altre

figure non più inconsuete o difficili: quella dell' oro che s'affina al fuoco; quella dell' onda del mare a cui vien paragonato il cuore irrequieto, e altre compagne. Ciò è tanto vero, che il Gaspari credè di sorprendere una reminiscenza provenzale nel paragone della candela adoperato in un sonetto di Guittone di Arezzo; e quel paragone già si trovava nel Ritmo Cassinese, dove a nessuno può venire in menti di ricercare l'azione della poesia cavalleresca di oltr' Alpe: (Gaspari, Sc. sicil. l.c. p. 96, e tutto il cap. II. nel Ritmo è detto:

Et arde la candela sebe libera
et altri nuesta fia dellibera;

cp. Dante Purg. XXII., 67.

Facesti come quei che va di notte,
Che porta il lume dietro. e se non giova,
Ma dopo sè fa le persone dotte.)

Finalmente, anche i luoghi allusivi a cognizioni o a superstizioni o a leggende diffuse, a quel tempo in tutta l'Europa latina, non si voglion tenere, se non in qualche caso determinato, per derivazioni, nè sono tali i richiami del cristallo nato dall' acqua; dell' uomo selvaggio che ride al mal tempo (la qual tradizione è ancora viva nel popolo di molte parti d'Italia); della lancia di Peleo, d'Isotta, d'Elena e via seguitando. Coste in somma, dovevan essere allora espressioni consacrate; immagini passate in proverbio; figure senza impronta speciale, di quelle che sono di nessuno e di tutti, e che, durante uno stesso periodo di civiltà hanno corso a un tempo in tutti i

paesi e in tutte le letterature, senza che si possa dire, un SS
paese specchiarsi nell' altro o una letteratura accattare da un'
altra. Sono segni del tempo."

What Cesareo states above is true to a large extent, many
of the figures regarded as "imitations" are traditional or else
they are the common property of all mediaeval cultures; it is
evident that the question requires a closer study than it has
hitherto received. It is a fact that the early Italians did
imitate the Provençals in a certain respect - the troubadours
were the first to use these "common" figures for an artistic
purpose and in a poetic form. In this sense they were undoubt-
edly followed by their Italian contemporaries and successors.
The matter, however, deserves a full discussion, as we have said
above. It is sufficient for the moment to bear in mind the
fact that to use the word imitation in any but a most guarded
manner, is to tread on very dangerous ground. In accordance
with this fact we shall therefore choose a mode of treatment
which will save us from the danger of vague assumptions and
which may yet leave opportunity for the drawing of conclusions
from concrete instances. The most prudent line of approach
seems to be, to look upon early Provençal and Italian with the
eyes of Dante, Petrarch, Equicola and Redi, as being one poetry
in the sense that both are vernacular. In doing so we are fur-
ther helped by the fact that both literatures were in a certain

measure contemporaneous. Laying aside all preconceived opinions of influences, actual and possible, we shall attempt to proceed with an open mind, to trace the rhetoric tradition without presuppositions or prejudices and to record the facts as each generation reveals them in practice.

The Sicilian School.

The name "Sicilian School" is one which has become renowned in the world of literary controversy, and a whole network of intricate problems arises out of this question; with which it is not our purpose to deal. In the 1924 edition of the 'Origini della poesia lirica' Cesareo makes a masterly examination of the facts and deals with all arguments either of early or recent date. This being the latest treatment of the subject it seems appropriate to quote as our introduction the page in which the author summarises the results of his investigations:

"Ma i primi a derivare gl' influssi, le tendenze gli ammaestramenti della società e della scuola di Bologna nella loro poesia cortigiana, furon gli scolari del Mezzogiorno. E s'intende: eran quelli che più n'avevan bisogno. I poeti del Settentrione conoscevano press' a poco la lingua e la poesia provenzale e francese; ne' castelli de' loro signori venivano i trovatori e i giullari ad accompagnarsi sul luto o su la viola i lai e le canzoni dei loro paesi, nella lor lingua, che gli altri per la somiglianza de' suoni, intendevano. Chi obbligava costoro a cercarsi un' altra lingua letteraria, quando tutti intendevano il provenzale, quando in provenzale i loro stessi concittadini avean rimato e rimavano? In Toscana non c'eran corti; in Roma imperava il latino della chiesa e della tradizione. Ma i giudici, i notari, i frati del Regno, sapevan bene che neicastelli

di Puglia e alla corte di Palermo il provenzale non era inteso. e che la poesia vera gustata e ricompensata: certamente, prima di venire a Bologna, avevano udito i rozzi giullari del luogo provarsi a rallegrare la folla con qualche loro ingenua trovata in volgare plebeo; e immaginarono subito tutto l'onore e il profitto che avrebbero potuto ritrarre dall'innalzare il dialetto a convenienza letteraria, rivestendone una loro poesia delicata d'amore, introducendolo nella corte, su l'esempio dei celebrati maestri d'oltr' Alpe."(1)

The poets of the Sicilian school can be divided into two groups - those living in the time of Frederick and those living in the time of Manfred. The two groups are approximately as follows:-

Federigo II.	Enzo
Pier della Vigna	Guido delle Colonne
Arrigo Testa	Rinaldo d'Aquino
Giacomo da Lentino	Mazeo di Rico
Ruggieri d'Amici	Folco di Calabria
Inghilfreda	Stefano di Messina
L'Abate di Tivoli	Rosso di Messina
Ruggerone da Palermo	Filippo di Messina
Tommaso di Sasso	Rugieri Apugliese
Paganino di Serezano	Jacopo d'Aquino
Giacomino Pugliesi	
Odo delle Colonne	
Compagnetto da Prato	
Ciaccio dell' Anguillaia	
Messer Osman	
Percivalle Doria	
Giacomo Mostacci.	

Owing to the fact that the number of poets is comparatively small

(1) Op. cit. p. 114.

and that the majority have left only a few isolated poems, it is possible to give individual treatment, and to deal severally with the figures employed by each poet.

Federigo II. degli Hoenstauffen.

Of the poems left by Frederick, only one contains figures, and that one is of doubtful attribution, Butler considering it to be the work of Ruggerone da Palermo:

"E scioglio come neve
Pensando c'altri l'aia in potestate.
Canzonetta gioiosa.
Va là, fuor di Soria,
A quella c'à lo meo cor in presgione;"(1)

In the first of the other poems(2) the expression "in vostra balia" occurs, but it has become so common and its application is so general that one can hardly term it a figure. In the same way the expression "Ke siete fiore" in the second poem is really meaningless. Frederick's songs are artificial and rather dull, their interest lies almost entirely in the fact that they were penned by one so illustrious - and notorious.

With Pier della Vigna we come to much more valuable material. His active and busy life as logothete and pronotary to Frederick, and the pathetic circumstances of his death, evoke a sympathetic attention in the reading of his poems. It has been suggested that the Sicilian poets were particularly fond of sea figures, because they lived among a sea-faring people. This may be true, but it is equally true as mentioned above(3) that figures dealing

(1) Monaci p. 74.

(2) " p. 72.

(3) cp. p. 60

with ships and ports are traditional. Pier della Vigna certainly had a leaning towards metaphors of this description. His best known poem opens with the following lines:

"Amore, in cui disio ed ò speranza.
 Di voi, bella, m'ha dato guiderdone;
 E guardoml infino che vengna la speranza,
 Per aspetando bono tempo e stagione:
 Com omo ch'è in mare ed à spene di gire,
 E quando vede lo tempo ed ello spanna,
 E giamai la speranza no lo' nganna;
 Così faccio, madonna, in voi venire." (1)

Towards the close of the poem Pier resumes the figure, which seems to be one after his heart.

"E guardo tempo che mi sia a piacere
 E spanda le mie vele inver voi, rosa,
 E prendo porto laove si riposa
 Lo meo core al vostro insegnamento." (2)

A graceful and pleasing picture of spreading sails, urged by the wind towards a safe harbour.

He continues:

"Or potess' eo venire a voi, amorosa,
 Come lo larone ascoso e non paresse!
 Bel lo mi teria in gioja avventurosa,
 Se l'amore tanto bene mi faciesse."

This figure is one which has provoked comment. On p. 365 of the 'Origini' Cesareo says: "Immagini nuove, piene, potenti, abbondano nelle poesie.....È meritamente famosa quella di Pier della Vigna: 'or potess' eo venire etc.'" While heartily endorsing the above statements, one cannot refrain from remark-

(1) Monaci p. 56.

(2) " p. 57.

ing that the figure of the "robber" can hardly be termed new. There is a striking "robber" metaphor in Perdigon,⁽¹⁾ Pier's contemporary, which is different, but regarded as a literary conceit it is on a plane far above the somewhat slight image of the Italian poet. The idea was probably suggested to Pier by the Biblical "thief in the night."

The passage closes thus:

"Si bello parlante, donna, con voi fora,
E direi como v' amai lungiamente
Più ca Piramo Tisbia dolzemente,
Ed ameragio infino ch' eo vivo ancora." (2)

No further comment appears necessary here. The reference to Piramus and Thisbe was what Butler has termed a "stock ornament," and is readily used by all poets.

The poem beginning "Amor, dacui move tuttora ed éne" is a less interesting one. The poet does not permit himself to indulge in lyric flights, but preserves a calm and somewhat moralising tone. There are two points, however, which call for mention as showing very clearly the strong kindred spirit between the Sicilian school and the troubadours. The first is a little homily on riches, exactly on the same lines as countless others in the poems of the Provençal minstrels. The other is one which is extraordinarily common in the writings of the Sicilian school, it has degenerated from an original image into an irritating commonplace. We quote Pier's version as typical:

(1) Raynouard III., p. 348.

(2) Monaci p. 57.

"E non vorrei essere lo sengnore
 Di tutto il mondo, per aver perdita
 Di sua benevolgienza,"(1)

"Gaspary in his 'Scuola Siciliana' (2) quotes a similar sentiment from Pons de Capdueil, as an instance of the Italians' debt to the troubadours. The expression is no doubt very like; but this sentiment is surely a commonplace of all amatory poetry, down to "Si le roi m'avait donné Paris sa grand' ville." (3)

In the poem "Membrando ciò ch' Amore," we find more interesting material. The canzone contains three figures and each one is, to my knowledge, original. Pier is not content with comparing Madonna to a flower, she is a flower born in paradise -

"Son morto, ché m' incende
 La fior che' n paradiso
 Fu (ciò m'è avviso) nato, ond' eo non poso."

The idea of divinity is of course not a new one, and is, as we saw earlier, due in part to the influence of mariolatry, but the celestial flower is a new and graceful touch. In the next stanza we come upon a fuller figure than we have yet encountered. It is a reference to the siren story from the Odyssey. So far as I know, the Provençal troubadours did not use this image. If an instance does exist it is probably an exceptional case. In this connection it is rather interesting to find that the romances adopted for purposes of rhetoric colour, are not the

(1) Butler p. 2.

(2) p. 51.

(3) Butler p. 147.

same in both languages. A striking example of this is the story of the "Old Man of the Mountain" which is a favourite with the Sicilians but which ^{*}does not appear to have been known among the Provençals. Returning to the point at issue, we find that Pier della Vigna has drawn a very graphic picture of the familiar tale:

"Condotto l'Amor m'ave
In sospiri ed in pianto,
Di gioia affranto, e sono mise in pene.
Son rotto come nave
Che perè per lo canto
Che fanno tanto dolze le serene.
Lo marinai s'obria,
Perde, e va per tal via
Che perir lo convene.
Così e la morte mia
Quella che m'ha in balia,
Che si dura si tene."⁽¹⁾

The last figure is probably a Biblical reminiscence, but its application is rather odd:

"Ché 'n lei regna valenza
E cognoscenza più ch'arena in fiume;"⁽²⁾

The expression seems to lack point. Perhaps Pier has made an unsuccessful attempt to find a new image.⁽³⁾

Giacomo Mostacci.

As Butler says Giacomo Mostacci "is just not only a name." We know that he took part in a tenzone with Giacomo da Lentino and Pier della Vigna. It is probable also that he outlived

(1) Carducci A.L.I. p. 25.

(2) " " p. 25.

(3) It has been suggested that this figure is inspired by the dry sandy beds of South Italian streams in summer-heat.

* cp. note p. 327.

both, if the reference in the Zinta recorded by Monaci refers to the same man. "Jacobo Mostacio" was one of a commission sent to Spain by Manfred in July, 1260, to negotiate a marriage.(1) Giacomo's poems run exactly in the same groove as the majority of Provençal lyrics. Gaspari has been at great pains to point out(2) that the canzone "Umile core e fino e amoroso" is in reality an adaptation of a Provençal poem attributed either to Cadenet or Peire Raimon of Toulouse, but as neither poem is of great literary merit the labour seems somewhat wasted. Although the resemblance between the two is striking, both poems are so exceedingly ordinary that any poet of the period might have produced them. In any case the matter does not call for further attention from us as the question of figures of rhetoric does not arise. Giacomo's poem contains no figures, properly speaking. The feudal terms in which he describes his lady as "reo signore" and himself as "ben servente," have become integral parts of poetic diction.

Giacomo, however, has left us one very charming poem. Its spirit and inspiration are undoubtedly those of troubadour song, but the poem is fresh and spontaneous, and contains some original touches. This seems to prove again the truth of what Cesareo says - although this Sicilian school of poetry is wrapped up in traditional regulations there remains always: "qualche spiraglio aperto alla luce e alla natura."(3) He continues:

(1) Cp. Purg. III., 115.

(2) 'Scuola Siciliana' chap. 2..

(3) p. 324.

"L'amore principio di civiltà: il vassallaggio d'amore; la necessaria alterezza e crudeltà di Madonna; l'obbligo di non fallirle e d'esserle sempre leale; la certa speranza d'ottenere mercede in ricompensa del lungo servizio; la protesta di tener segreto a ogni costo l'amore, e tanti altri luoghi che vedremo avanti, eran formule più che immaginazioni, così intimamente connesse alla poesia feudale e cavalleresca, che qualunque rappezzamento formale non valeva a mutarne l'essenza: si trattava sempre d'imitazione. Ma accanto a questo materiale ce n'era un altro. La contemplazione della bellezza; il sentimento della natura; la trepidazione, la disperazione, la gioia, i moti d'amore; la mestizia della lontananza; la fitta della gelosia; e poi tutto il materiale rettorico, immagini, paragoni, colori, eran cose che ciascuno poteva ripresentar rinnovate con freschezza e sincerità, perchè non appartenevano esclusivamente alla società cavalleresca, ma al sentimento generale degli uomini." (1)

"Il sentimento della natura, la contemplazione della bellezza, la trepidazione, la gioia" are all to be found in this poem of Giacomo Mostacci.

"Amor ben veio che mi fa tenere
 Manera e costumanza
 D'augello, c'arditanza lascia stare
 Quando lo verno vede sol venire;
 Ben mette l'nubrianza;
 La gioiosa baldanza di svernare;
 E par che la stagione non li piaccia,
 Che la freddura inghiaccia;
 E poi per primavera

(1) p. 324.

" Ricovera maniera,
E suo cantare innova e sua ragione;
Ed ogni cosa vuole sua stagione."

Butler contents himself with saying that passages of this kind are very frequent, adding, as an afterthought, the remark: "Italians, one may conjecture, had not yet begun to eat small birds." (1) This, I think, is hardly fair. The verse runs very melodiously - why should the singer not compare himself to a bird? Even the grim feudal baron Bertran did not scruple to do the same - although the contrast is even more amusing in his case -

"Quan la novela flors par e.l verjan,
On son vermelh, vert e blanc li brondel,
Per la doussor qu'ieu sen a.l torn de l'an
Chan autresi com fan li autre auzel;
Quar per auzel mi tenh en maintas res,
Quar aus voler tot lo mielhs qu'e.l mon es,
Voler l'aus ieu et aver cor volon,
Mas no l'aus dir mon cor, auz lo.lh rescon." (1)

I confess that Butler's statement leaves me somewhat mystified. The second verse of Mostacci's poem runs thus:

"Amor, lo tempo che non m'era a grato,
Mi tolse lo cantare;
Credendo migliorare io mi ritenne.
Or canto, che mi sento migliorare,
Ca per bene aspettare
Solazzo ed alegrare e gioi' mi venne
Per la più dolce donna ed avenente
Che mai amasse amante,
Quella ch'è di beltate
Sovrana e in veritate,
Che ognunque donna passa ed ave vinto,
E passa perle, smeraldo e giacinto."

(1) Stimming p. 90.

Here indeed is "la trepidazione e la gioia." Notice too, the mention of precious stones in the last line. These are much more frequent in the Italians than in the Provençal poets. The lapidaries and bestiaries were evidently better known in Italy. The third stanza closes with a proverbial saying "quegli è rico c'ave ciò che vuole." Sayings of this kind are not so common in the Sicilian poets. The last verse opens with a proverbial touch - the "chain" so often referred to by the Provençal troubadours, has become "un dolce laccio-"

"Donna e l'amore han fatto compagnia,
 E teso un dolce laccio
 Per mettere in sollaccio lo mio stato;
 E voi mi siete gentil, donna mia,
 Colonna e forte braccio,
 Per cui sicuro giaccio in ogni lato.
 Gioioso e baldo canto d'allegrezza,
 C'amor m'è scudo e lanza,
 E spada difendente
 Da ogni maldicente,
 E voi mi siete, bella, rocca e muro;
 Mentre vivo per voi starò sicuro." (1)

Butler has pointed out that this stanza is more than reminiscent of the opening verses of the thirty-first psalm. The poet was doubtless thinking of the "net laid privily" and of the "rock and fortress." The remarkable feature of the passage, however, is to find the attributes of strength and support applied to madonna. What Provençal poet compared his lady to a pillar and strong arm, to a rock and wall? The idea gives sincerity and reality to those relations between the poet and his lady, which

(1) Butler pp. 13 - 14.

are so often intangible and unsubstantial. Notice too the virile force suffused into the familiar convention of the slanderer, what does the poet care for idle scandal, "Love is a shield and lance and a defending sword from all evil-sayers."

This last echo of a proud spirit closes the chapter of Giacomo Mostacci.

Tommasa di Sasso.

Tommasa di Sasso is a shadowy figure of whom nothing is known. Cesareo places him in the latter part of the group centering round Frederick. The manuscripts of his poems are unfortunately very faulty, but judging from what we have, Tommaso is a poet of the same type as Peire d'Auvergne - had he been a troubadour he would probably have delighted in the "trobar clus," as it is, he enjoys handling a complicated metre. Monaci does not evidently consider him worthy of quotation. Butler prints the poem beginning "D'amoroso paese." This poem contains some interesting figures. It opens with a new conceit

"D'amoroso paese
sospiri (e dolzi pianti) m'à mandato
Amor,"

In the third stanza there is a curious, inartistic medley of figures:

"Amor mi facie (umile ed) umano,
Crucioso e sollazante,
E per mia voglia amante amor negando;

"E medica piagando
 Amore, che nel mare tempestoso
 Navica vigoroso, e ne lo chiano (piano)
 teme la tempestate."

The passage contains a corruption of the "Peleus' lance" figure, and the "savage man." A few lines further down there is a contrast passage which might have been penned by Folquet de Marselha or Raimon de Miraval:

"Amor mi fa fellone,
 Spacciato e vergognoso;
 Quanto più son dolglioso alegro paro
 E nom posso esser varo."

The familiar figure of the crystal appears now:

"Da poi che cristallo avene la neve
 Squalgliare mai non deve, per rasgione;
 Così eo, che no rifino.
 Son poco mino divenuto, amore."

- but I do not think a Provençal troubadour would have disfigured it by such an atrocity as "squalgliare." Then comes one of those eccentric and prosaic conceits which we encountered in Folquet de Marselha and other poets of the same manner:

"Aqua per gran dimoro torna sale;
 Cotal dolglia mortale,
 Gravoso male, da neve stesso è nato,
 Che non agio nul lato che non ami."

- not a very apt or well-expressed figure. The poem concludes with the two well-worn conceits of "fire" and "service."

"poi ch'io si lungiamente
 Agio amato, giamai no rifinai,
 Tardi mi risvelgliai a disamare;
 Chè non si può astutare
 Così senza fatica uno gran foco,
 Ma si consuma 'l foco per neiente.
 Dunqua como faraggio?
 Bene ameraggio, ma (bene) saver voria
 Che fera singnoria mi face amare,
 Chè gran follia mi pare
 Omo inorare a sì folle singnore,
 C'a lo suo serbidore non si mostra."(1)

Re Giovanni - Count of Brienne.

King John was one of the best-known figures in the Middle Ages. In character he seems to have been not unlike Richard Coeur de Lion. He was the leader of the fifth Crusade and the father-in-law of Frederick, to whom he married his daughter in 1225. He spent several years in Italy, helping in the conquest of Naples and also governing, for some time, the papal state under Clement IX. Fra Salimbene who knew him, describes him in these terms: "Erat enim rex magnus et grossus et longus statura, robustus et fortis et doctus ad prelium, ita ut Johannes alter Karolus Pipini filius crederetur, et quando in bellum cum clava ferrea percutiebat hinc inde, ita fugiebant saraceni a facie ejus, sicut vidissent diabolum....., revera non fuit tempore suo, uti discebatur, miles in mundo melior eo....."(2) No doubts could be cast upon the identity or personality of this valiant baron, probably, as Butler suggests, he was perfectly capable of dealing summarily with his obstreperous son-in-law. King John has left three French poems and one Italian, something

(1) Butler pp. 33 - 5.

(2) Monaci p. 70.

in the form of a "descort." It is at the same time an invitation to dance, and was probably intended to be sung to a dance on May-day. The short-tripping measure and the joy of spring with which the piece is instinct, remind one forcibly of "L'Alle-gro." It is of course, a much older composition than the ones we have already quoted, it is more naïve and inconsequent, and is full of Provençal reminiscences. The first stanza may well be quoted as being typical of the whole poem, we find in it the time-worn images of the Provençal school. but it has a light spontaneous gaiety which is exceedingly fresh and pleasing.

"Donna, audite como
 Mi tengno vostro omo
 E non d'altro sengnore.
 La mia vita fina
 Voi l'avete in dotrina
 Ed in vostro tenore.
 Oi chiarita spera,
 La vostra dolze ciera
 De l'atlr' è gienzore.
 Così similmente
 E lo vostro colore.
 Colore non vidi sì giente
 Nè'n tinta nè'n fiore,
 Ancora la fiore sia aulente,
 Voi avete il dolzore,
 Dolze temppo e gaudente
 Inver ela pascore.
 Ogn' omo che ama altamente
 Si dé avere bon core
 D'essere cortese e valente
 E leale servidore
 Inver la sua donna piagiente
 Chui ama a tutore."(1)

The third stanza contains a reference to Tristan and Isolde.

(1) Monaci p. 71.

The poet does not content himself with making the comparison, but interpolates a short part of the story. This seems to point again to the early character of the poem, John of Brienne answers very easily to the call of a point-less digression. As Butler has remarked, modern Italian critics have made this passage a subject of controversy. They do not understand its appearance in the middle of a dance-poem. Its presence seems to me perfectly natural, it was a characteristic feature of writers in the Middle Ages, that they were easily led away from the main issue. In addition too it might be suggested that John of Brienne was more at home with his iron mace than with his pen - there is an artlessness about his descort which would point to this, but its charm is none the less piquant.

Inghilfredi - a

Inghilfredi is a poet whose identity has not yet been established. Cesareo places him among the Sicilians, but he says: "detto siciliano nelle antiche stampe, e di Palermo dal Trissino, pare che sia stato di Lucca."⁽¹⁾ and refers to an article by L. Biadene 'La patria d'Inghilfredi, in Atti e mem. d. K. Accad. di scienze, lettere e arti in Padova; vol. XXXII., disp. iv. Monaci suggests that he could be identified with an Inghilfreda of Padua who had a son podestà of Bologna in 1305 (Archivo Notarile di Bologna, memoriale III); he places him rather among the followers of Guittone d'Arezzo.

(1) p. 71.

Inghilfredi has left us some interesting figures.

In Monaci p. 205 we find:

"Doglio, quando più miro lo guadagno che perdo,
che più mi pura (purifica) ca l'aigua la spunza."

There is one instance of a figure of this kind in Provençal troubadour poetry, where homely metaphors are very common. It occurs in Peyrols:

"Quant ieu cuit semar alhors
Per tot lo cors m'intra s'amors.
Si cum fai l'aigua en l'esponja." (1)

The Italians do not employ these realistic figures nearly so readily as do the Provençals.

In the same passage we find a new simile -

"La mia fede è più casta e più diritta c'asta;"

It is these original touches which preserve, to a great extent, the identity of each poet. Inghilfreda's words have an almost puritan ring. Immediately following this line comes a "Tristan" simile, but notice that it is somewhat different from the usual type. Inghilfreda is more faithful than Tristan - who did not keep his word:

"Che 'n sengnorìa s'è recata a serva,
E più lealtà serva che l suo dir non conserva
Lo bon Tristan, al cui pregio s'adasta."

There is another poem by Inghilfreda which gives more food for

(1) Raynouard III., p. 278.

reflection. Every stanza in this canzone ends with a beast simile, and the problem of the use of such figures is one which requires a little discussion. In Provençal troubadour poetry references to legendary animals do exist, but they are not tremendously common. As we said above, with regard to "precious stone" figures, the lapidaries and bestiaries must have been in current use among the Italians. It is nonsense, however, to imagine that figures of this description are an innovation in Sicilian poetry. The following examples are those which I have been able to find in the Provençal, there may, of course, be others, and in any case they form quite a substantial list:

"Cercamon" (Class. fr. p. 23)	- the song of the dying swan. ¹
Peire Vidal(" " pp. 63 and 148)	the phoenix and the dragon
Aimeric de Peguilhan (Barstow p. 178)	- basilisk and marabotis.
Richard de Barbézieux(" p. 185)	- the lion
(Lommatsch p. 70)	- the orifans, and phoenix.
(Raynouard III. p. 457)	- the tigress
Peire d'Aorlac(" V. p. 310)	- the salamander.

The matter is taken up by Cesareo in the section which he devotes to Giacomo da Lentino. To begin with he states: "Giacomo es- cluse da' sonetti quanto di immagini, di pensieri, di sentimenti. poteva accordarsi soltanto con lo spirito cavalleresco e feudale. Considerando che un certo linguaggio, se poteva convenire a' trovatori cavalieri, baroni, vassalli, non conveniva nè a lui, notaro, nè a altri poeti della corte siciliana, uomini di studio al par di lui, cercò un materiale meditativo e rettorico, che

¹cp also Peirol, M. W. ii, 1.

lor s' addicesse, nella scienza delle scuole: nella filosofia, nella fisica, ne' Bestiari, ne' Lapidari, nelle Moralizzazioni. In luogo delle solite immaginite provenzalesche del buon signore e del servitore, degli occhi messaggeri, della dama paragonata al sole alto, di Peleus e della lancia, di Narcisso, di Polissena, d'Elena, qui ne troviamo dell' altre, entrate soltanto da poco tempo nella poesia d'oltr' alpe."

This last statement is one which appears to me to be open to question. In the first place - what does Cesareo mean by "philosophy"? One would have to know definitely in what sense he is using the term, before accepting the truth of his remarks. Secondly, with regard to physics, he is treading on dangerous ground. In Peire Vidal, for example, there are a great number of physical figures. There are two occurrences of the expression "aigua doussa de mar" - which is taken by Anglade to mean "sweet water from the sea." (1) Possibly it may mean sweet water from bitter, but at all events, it must refer to some process of alchemy. The second time the expression occurs, it is prefaced by the line "Trac de neu freida foc clar." (2) This connection between snow and fire is a commonplace of troubadour poetry, but of course it is not always employed as a rhetoric figure. As we shall see from the following quotation, it is linked up in some mysterious fashion with the crystal:

"Tenrai m'a l'us de l'enveios romen,

(1) Anglade pp. 35 and 90.

(2) " p. 90.

"Que quier e quier, car de la freida neu
 Nais lo cristals, don hom trai foc arden:
 E per esfortz venson li bon sufren."(1)

Now Peire Vidal died in 1205 - so that the words "da poco tempo" could not be applied to him. Nor, could they be aptly applied, either, to Folquet de Marselha who died in 1231, and who used figures of the same type, for example:

"Qu'atressi.m te quom se sol en balansa:
 Dezesperat ab alques d'esperansa,
 Pero no.m vol del tot laisser murir
 Per so que.m puesca plus soven aucir."(2)

This surely might be termed a physical figure - as also the following one which refers to the lode-stone:

"C'aissi nos teni' nonratz
 Q'eissamens cum l'azimans
 Tira.l fer e.l fai levar
 Fazi' el mains cors dreissar
 Vas pretz, forssatz e pesans;(3)

The figure of the great tower in the little mirror⁽⁴⁾ and the painting seen from a distance⁽⁵⁾ are analogous.

With regard to Bestiaries, Cesareo's statement would also require some qualification as has been shown by the given list of figures. The question of precious stones is exactly similar. We find precious stones mentioned in one of the earliest troubadours - Marcabru -

"C'Amors a signifiansa
 De maracé' o de sardina."(6)

(1) Anglade p. 77.

(2) Stronski D. 64.

(3) " p. 74.

(4) p. 43.

(5) p. 54.

(6) Déjeanne p.

In Guillaume le Duc, the earliest known troubadour, we find -

"Que plus etz blanca qu'evori"(1)

In Guillaume de Cabestaing (m. 1196) there is a reference to the amethyst:

"Cors gent format e car e just,
Blanc e lis plus q'us almatist."(2)

(The comparison is with the "lis" of course.)

Then in Jaufre' Rudel there is an interesting couplet:

"D'un amistat suy enveyos
Quar no sai joya plus valen,"(3)

I think Jeanroy is playing here on the resemblance between "al-matist" and "amistat" - his use of the word jewel seems to point to this.

Then the "Moralizzazzioni" seems also an error. The Provençal troubadours from the earliest times, have a weakness for trite moral sentences, particularly those dealing with riches. Provençal literature is full of "ensenhamen" which the troubadours quoted freely and it must be remembered that moral allegory appears in a highly complicated form in Marcabru the disciple of Cercamon.

The truth is that physical figures and figures from the bestiaries and lapidaries are more frequent in the Sicilian poets, but nothing could be more erroneous than to imagine that

(1) Jeanroy p. 20.

(2) R. III. p. 109.

(3) Jeanroy p. 1.

Giacomo da Lentino introduced the usage of such conceits - Cesareo's paragraph is misleading in this respect.

The author must have been aware of this because he qualifies his remarks somewhat on the following page: "Or questo materiale d'immagini e di comparazioni dottrinali non fu propriamente introdotto nella poesia da Giacomo da Lentino. Già qualche esempio ~~ce~~ n'era nei versi de Bertran de Born, di Peirol e forse d'alcun altro avanti il secolo XIII. Poi la biografia provenzale di Richart de Barbézieux avverte 'qu'el se deleitava fort de dire en sas cansos similitudines de bestias e d'auzels, etc.' Infatti, anche le canzoni del Barbézieux son piene d'allegorie derivate dalla scienza del tempo: in, oltre quel poeta fu assai conosciuto in Italia." (1) The "forse alcun altro" seems to me rather vague and sweeping. The paragraph is not very well documented. Cesareo now proceeds to prove (2) that Richart de Barbézieux was not the model of Giacomo da Lentino and finally declares: "Ma se il Notaro non inventò le similitudini animalesche, almeno le adoperò con fantasia ricca ed originale. Di molte delle sue immagini, quella del basilisco che uccide con lo sguardo, quella del dragone orgoglioso, quella dell' aquila cacciatrice, e altre parecchie, non sono stati ritrovati gli esempi nelle poesie provenzali. La moda era ancora nuova; e il rimatore siciliano l'adottò largamente per la sua nuova poesia."

(1) p. 346.

(2) pp. 347 - 9.

Now a glance at the list on page 230 will show that these remarks are not accurate. In addition it seems to me rather biased to give our Notary all the praise for "fantasia ricca ed originale." The Notary's adaptations are original certainly, but surely, for the "rich fantasy" thanks are due to the Bestiaries alone. The discussion now focusses upon Inghilfreda's poem "Audite forte cosa ke m'avene." Monaci believes that Inghilfreda belongs to the Guittonian school because of the style of his poetry. Now, if Monaci is judging partly by the presence of these bestiarial similes, his decision is probably open to question. It has become a habit with Italian critics to refer to such figures as "dottrinale." The Guittonian lyric is always termed the "lirica dottrinale" and therefore if a poet uses a large number of doctrinal figures he is regarded as having some mysterious connection with the central Italian school. It appears to me that to select these particular figures, form them into groups and term them doctrinal, is to create an artificial distinction. The stories of the panther and the basilisk, the theory of the crystal, the mystery of the magnet, were common property in the Middle Ages - I do not know why they should be regarded as scholastic or learned. The tradition is surely a direct one from Provencal to Italian, and the use of this type of figure - frequent though it may be - should not mark a poet as distinct from his fellows. The fact that Inghilfreda uses

beast figures all through one poem should not be regarded as conclusive evidence of any kind.

Cesareo's attitude to the poem is interesting. Inghilfreda, he says, "sembra parteggiare, benchè timidamente, per la nuova poesia del Notaro: si vegga segnatamente la canz. 'Audite forte cose ke m'avene,' dove son pure accumulate le immagini della salamandra, della fenice, della tigre, della pantra, altre una remeniscenza de' versi di Giacomo nella chiusa;(1)

"Lo meo lavor(o) no smonta:
Ma nascie e tolle e monta
E spica e fior e grana."

Cp. "Madonna dir vi voglio": "lo meo lavoro spica e poi non grana."

In this paragraph Cesareo is surely guilty of heresy to his own most cherished opinions. Because Inghilfreda uses a number of bestiarial similes in one of his poems, I do not know why he should be regarded as a "timid" partisan of the Notary's new movement. The statement is all the more hazardous as Inghilfreda's dates are so uncertain. After all that Cesareo has said against the use of the term imitation it seems inconsistent to say that one poet followed in the steps of another. The author is of course misled by the fact that he, personally, regards the use of "doctrinal" figures as a new development in poetry, and is thereby also, inclined to exaggerate grossly the

(1) p. 368.

importance of Giacomo's little reform. Be this as it may, the last sentences, at least, present a glaring contradiction. On p. 366 Cesareo says: "Ma il più sovente si tratta di figure comuni, non a quelle due sole, ma a tutte le letterature d'Europa; di figure, che dovevan essere allora, come in parte sono anch' oggi nella bocca di tutti, derivando dall' osservazione di fatti della vita ordinaria. E allora l'imitazione non c'entra."

Now it seems to me that this particular figure belongs to the above category. Here a few examples of usages which are either identical or analogous:

"Done mi fueilla em floris em fruch' Amors
El cor."(1)

"Som met en cor qu'ieu colore mon chan
D'un aital flor don lo fruitz sia amors,
E jois lo grans, e l'olors de noigandres."(2)

"Ben avrai d'amor
Folh' e fruit e flor
E ram e verdor,"(3)

We find the genesis of the figure in the earliest troubadour - Guillaume le duc:

"Mas si anc nulhs joys poc florir,
Aquest deu sobre totz granar"(4)

"Pero Esperars fai las flors
Tornar frug."(5)

"Car per solatz e per chan
Creis amors e brot' e rama."(6)

(1) A. Daniel p. 12.

(2) Peire Vidal, Anglade p. 52.

(3) Jeanroy p. 22.

(4) F. di Marselha - Stronski p. 42.

(5) R. di Miraval - Barstch p. 165.

"C'Amors s'embria
 Lai on conois son par.
 Blanch' e floria
 E presta de granar."(1)

Thus it is apparent that when Inghilfreda uses the metaphor of seed-bearing, he is not necessarily imitating Giacomo at all, but merely reproducing a well-known conceit. So that Cesareo could really be hoist with his own petard, in this instance.

In conclusion let us quote the poem itself:

"Audite forte cosa che m'avene.
 Eo vivo in pene stando in allegranza;
 Saccio ch' io amo e sono amato bene
 Da quella che mi tene in desianza.
 Da lei niente vogliomi celare:
 Lo meo tormentare como pien è dicresce;
 E vivo in foco come salamandra.

Sua caunoscenza e lo dolze parlare
 E le belleze e l'amoroso viso,
 Di ciò pensando fammi travagliare.
 Jesu Cristo ideolla in paradiso
 E poi la fece angelo incarnata.
 Tanto di lei m'inbardo,
 Che mi consumo e ardo;
 E rinovello com' fenice face.

L'omo selvagio ha'n sé cotal natura
 Che piange quando vede' l tempo chiaro,
 Però che la tempesta lo spaura:
 Simile a me lo dolce torna amaro.
 Ma sono amato da lei senza inganno:
 A ciò mia mente mira:
 Sì mi solleva d'ira,
 Come la tигра lo specchio isguardando.

Gioia agio presa di giglio novello
 Si alta che sormonta ogne ricchezza:
 Donomi senza noia lo più bello.
 Per tanto non si bassa sua grandezza.
 A la mis vita mai non partiragio:

(1) Marcabru - Déjeanne XXII, vii

"Sua dottrina m'affrena,
 Così mi scorge e allena
 Come pantera le bestie selvagio.

Pogna ben cura chi ama di bon core,
 Per sofferir non perda malamente.
 Luntanamente m' tirato amore,
 Per cu' il magio ho ditto presente.
 Lo sofferir m' ha condotto a bon porto:
 Lo meo lavor no smonta,
 Ma nasce estolle e monta
 E spina e fiore e grana lo conforto."(1)

This poem runs on exactly the same lines as many another troubadour lyric. There are only two points which call for mention - apart from those which we have already discussed. The first is the comparison of the "savage man," one which is popular in Italian poetry but which is utterly unknown in Provençal poetry; the second is the conception that the poet's lady is the incarnation of an angel. Although this last, is not, properly speaking, a rhetoric figure it comes under the category of rhetoric conceits. In the five planh (cp. page) or poems of mourning for the death of a lady, we find the conception that madonna's presence was desired by the angels and that this was one of the reasons for her premature decease. In all Provençal poetry the idea suggests itself repeatedly that there is a link between the lady and the divinity - that God made her beautiful, that she in some way partakes of the divine nature, Peire Vidal even goes so far as to say that he sees God when he looks at her. But in Inghilfreda we have something different - Jesus Christ is

(1) Carducci p. 26.

mentioned, and the idea creeps in that madonna existed before her incarnation, in the divine mind. This is interesting and proves the truth of Savi-Lopez' theory - a theory which we must discuss at a later point. His views may be briefly summed up in the following paragraph: "Queste donne sono già participi della divinità. Le rare voci disperse nella lirica occitanica si fecero coro nel dolce stil nuovo; ma la via era segnata, e tutta la filosofia che i nostri poeti appresero dai Padri o da altri non aggiungerà nulla a tale concezione della donna e dell'amore." This expression in Inghilfredi forges a link in the transitional chain.

Percivalle Doria

Percivalle Doria belonged to a great Genovese family. He was podestà of Avignon in 1237, of Parma in 1243 and later he was vicar of Manfred in the march of Ancona and in the duchy of Rome and Spoleto. In 1264 he was drowned in the Nera.⁽¹⁾ In the poem quoted by Monaci there is nothing which calls for comment except the first appearance of a figure with which we are destined to become more familiar.

"Amor m'è preso come il pescie a l'amo."

Homely comparisons of this type are familiar to all readers of troubadour poetry, but I do not recollect having encountered this particular one before.

(1) Cp. Monaci p. 80.

There is, however, a really striking figure in another poem attributed to Percivalle Doria. It is the picture of a pilgrim going forth on a sunny spring morning when the birds are singing, then the day changes and rain falls and the pilgrim is filled with heaviness. References to pilgrims do occur in Provençal but there are none so elaborate or pleasing as this. In passing, we might notice one detail, which, though perhaps small, is interesting; in Provençal we do not find changes of weather referred to like this - in Italian they are not infrequently mentioned and they sometimes are an incidental point in the story of the savage man and the rain. The matter is too slight and the instances too few to permit of further development, but it is thanks to minute differences of this kind that the Sicilian lyric keeps its freshness.

"Come lo giorno, quando è dal maitino,
 Chiaro e sereno e bello è da vedere,
 Perchè gli ausgielli fanno lor latino
 Cantare fino, e par dolze a udire;
 E poi ver mezzo il giorno cangia e muta,
 E torna in pioggia la dolze veduta
 Che sì mostrava,
 Lo pellegrino, che sicuro andava
 Per l'allegrezza dello giorno bello,
 Diventa fello, pieno di pesanza;
 Così m'à fatto amor con sua possanza."(1)

In the second stanza the poet recurs to this idea: "

"Or sento e veio che gran follia lo tira,
 Chi lauda il giorno avanti che sia sera.

(1) Butler p. 47.

In the two preceding lines there is a lapidarian figure:

"Quella che avanza giacinto e smeraldo
Ed ave le belleze ond' io disvio;"(1)

At the end of the poem Percivalle Doria does not hesitate to tell his lady that she is behaving like a child. In Provençal lyric poetry we quite frequently find a blunt statement of this kind, especially in such a troubadour as Peire Vidal, in Sicilian poetry it is a novel touch:

"Perchè mi siete fatta sì orgogliosa,
Oì, gientil donna bene aventureosa,
Si ben pensate
Come s'avene a donna in veritate,
Mostrare amore, e mettere in errore
Lo suo servente e sì fidele amante?
Tu doni e tolli come fa lo fante."(2)

Bondie Dietajuti.

Bondie Dietajuti is an interesting figure because we know that he was a Florentine - at least the manuscript proffers this information. Monaci cannot fix any date from external evidence but he concludes: "Le rime di Bondie, per la matteria, la struttura e lo stile, in nulla divariano dalla maniera della scuola del Notajo, e punto risentono delle innovazioni guittoniane. Forse Bondie fu un altro di quegli antichissimi che per l'età potrebbero rivaleggiare con Giacomo da Lentino, e per avventura non fu egli il solo fiorentino cui spettò un posto fra i trovadori di quel primo periodo della nostra lirica artistica."(3)

(1) Butler p. 48.

(2) " p. 48.

(3) Monaci p. 223.

Apart from his Florentine origin Bondie Dietajuti is a poet of peculiar interest to us on account of a remarkable parallelism in one of his poems. In the opening stanza of the canzone there is an exceedingly fine and well-sustained comparison, which we shall quote forthwith:

"Madonna, me è avenuto similgliante
 Con de la spera a l'ascielliett' avene,
 Che sormonta, guardandola, 'n altura
 E poi dichina lassa inmantenante.
 Per lo dolzore ch'a lo core le vene,
 E frangie in terra, tanto s'inamora.
 Così primeramente ch'eo guardai
 Lo vostro chiaro visagio,
 Che splende più che raggio.
 Distrettamente, donna, inamorai.

E così sormontai, donna, vegiando
 Che mi donò amore l'ardimento
 Di voi amare, sovrana di bieltate.
 Ma sospirando lasso e piangiendo
 Sono dichinato, poi va *im* perdimento
 Per me merzé e frango in pietate." (1)

Does this not bring back the memory of a distant song?

"Quant vey la lauzeta mover
 De ioi sas alas contral ray,
 Que s'oblida e.s layssa cazer
 Per la doussor qu'al cor li vai,
 Ai! tan grans enveja m'en ve
 De cui qu'*eu* vey iauzion!
 Meravilhas ai, quar desse
 Lo cor de dezirer no.m fon." (2)

What would Cesareo say about this, we may ask ourselves. Would he term this a "common" figure? Would he say "l'imitazione non c'entra."? The lark figure does occur again in a little known

(1) Monaci p. 223.

(2) B. de Ventadorn - Chaytor p. 118.

troubadour Aimeric de Sarlat who is mentioned by Taylor. Taylor quoted his figure along with those of Ventadorn and Dante (cp. Introduction pp. 26 - 28) - it is for us to add that of Dietajuti to the little group. Did Dietajuti know the canzoni of Ventadorn? It is impossible to tell. All we can permit ourselves to say is this- Bernart de Ventadorn - that sweetest of singers, was the first to use the idea, possibly Aimeric and Dietajuti owed their inspiration to him, probably Dante created the image anew.

The poet continues:

"Ma più m'agrada l'amoroso foco.
Ov' è 'l mio core ardente
Per voi, vista piagiente,
Che per una altra avere solazo e gioco."

This image is of course in the true Provençal tradition.

The following stanza contains two slight figures:

"Madonna, ben ò inteso che lo smiro
Aucide lo badalischio a la 'mprimera;
Di voi similmente m'è avvenuto
Per uno vedere ond' io piango e sospiro;
Ché 'nmantamente m'alumo la spera
Onde coralemente sono feruto."

The first figure is a mere comparison - the second is rather curious as it is one of a few rare instances of mixed metaphor. Dietajuti seems to be playing on the double meaning of beam and lance. None of these conceits show the same skill of workman-

ship as does the first, which perhaps strengthens the possibility that the "lark-simile" was not an original inspiration in this case.

Two fine figures also occur in troubadours who are little more than a name, one in Arrigo Testa and one in Paganino da Serezano - both contemporaries of Pier della Vigna. The first is a more substantial comparison:

"Vedete pur lo foco, ke fin ke sente legna
Inflamma e non si spegna nè po stare nascoso.
Così l'amore à in uso per fermo sengnoraggio.
Ke cui ten per coragio conven ke mostri gioco."(1)

The second is the typical recurrence of a commonplace:

"Donqua vostra valore e mercede mi vaglia,
Ca foco mi travaglia che no spegna;
E vostra conoscenza ver mi d'amor s'inflame
E a ciò me rechiamo a benvoglienza,
Avend' al cor sofrenza ch'io l'ame."(2)

In the same poem there is an interesting little figure which introduces an original note - it is the figure of a captive tied to his captor:

"Sicom omo distretto che non pote fugire,
Convenelo seguire l'altrui voglia,
Mi tene amore afritto, che mi face servire
Ed amando gradire etc."(3)

Ruggerone da Palermo,

Ruggerone da Palermo, another dim figure, has left us a

(1) Arrigo Testa - Monaci p. 65.

(2) Paganino da Serezano - Monaci p. 67.

(3) Monaci p. 67.

little more substantial material, scant though it is in bulk. He has left only two poems - and the second of these is even attributed by the Laurentian manuscript to Frederick II. However, the first poem contains two very fine and well-sustained similes, one of a kite and one of a good sailor. So far, I have only encountered one mention of a kite, and it is a mere mention - Marcabru addressing love says: "Etz plus afilatz que milans;"(1) Marcabru was remarkable for his extraordinary collection of animal figures and though he refers to the Kite, we may still regard Ruggerone's comparison as being quite unique.

"Ben ò veduti manti a cui pare forte amore
 E non vole penare,
 E fa come lo nibio ciertamente;
 Ch'elgli è bello e possanti e non vole pigliare,
 Per nom troppo affanare,
 Se non cosa quale sia parisciente.
 Così fa quelli c'ha povero core,
 Di soferire pene per amore;
 E già sa egli ca null' altra amistanza
 Non guadagna omo mai per vilitanza -"

The stanza which concludes the piece contains an equally fine parallel, it is that of the "good sailor." The figure is curiously dramatic and reminds one of a scriptural parallel. Though we are already familiar with ships and havens, we have not yet encountered a stout-hearted mariner:

"Kosì dovemo fare come il buon marinaro
 Che core temppo amaro,
 Per afanno già se no abandona.
 Pria s'adastia (hastens) al ben fare, ancora che li
 sia caro,

(1) Déjeanne p.

"Mentr' unque à buon dinaro,
 Non si ricrede de la sua persona;
 Vede la morte ed à sempre speranza,
 E sta in tormento e dassi buon conforto,
 Fin camppa i rio tempo, e giungie a portto.
 Ed in diportto
 Nollì rimembra poi di quelle pene.
 Dolcie è lo male ond' omo aspetta bene."(1)

Although the figure is new, the sentiment is already a very familiar one in Provençal poetry - sweet is the suffering which brings its own reward!

The poem of doubtful attribution might well have been written by Frederick as it is a mere string of commonplaces. It is evidently written by a crusader on parting from his lady:

"Scioglio come neve (he says)
 Pensando c'altri l'aia *im* potestate,
 E di me pare mille la dia
 Ched io ritorni a voi, madonna mia ---"

Then he continues:

"canzonetta gioiosa,
 Va là, fuor di Soria,
 A quellaa c'à lo meo cor in presgione;"(2)

As we indicated above, nothing here calls for mention.

10. Giacomo da Lentino.

Giacomo da Lentino is one of the few early Italian poets who have left a good number of poems. It has therefore been possible to study his works more fully, to greater advantage and with more concrete results. Strangely enough, no trace has

(1) Monaci pp. 77 - 78.

(2) Butler p. 64.

been left of his life. Beyond rare references in his poems, and the fact that he carried on a *tenzone* with Pier della Vigna and Jacopo Mostacci, we have no tangible clue to his identity. He terms himself the Notary of Lentino in one of his poems, and has been known most commonly by that name - although there were other notaries in the Sicilian school. Butler says of him: "Nothing is known of the personal history of Giacomo the Notary of Lentino in Sicily. He seems to have been a prolific poet, much (and often justly) admired throughout the thirteenth century, and much quoted by those who at a later time took notice of the early writers.....It will be remembered how, in the famous passage Purg. XXIV. 55 - 57, Bonagiunta of Lucca is made to name the Notary, Guittone and himself, as exponents of the older, more conventional and less spontaneous, style of verse. Nevertheless there is a vivacity about many of his poems which is often as pleasing as the greater finish of the "stil nuovo." We may take it that he was one of the cultivated men who frequented the court of Frederick."(1)

The poems of the Notary were published complete in 1915 by Ernest F. Langley(2). A full literary criticism is contained in Cesareo, which is adhered to in Langley's notes. We shall therefore use Langley's texts (principally) and follow Cesareo's line of approach. The latter is briefly summarised in the author's introductory paragraph:- "Le poesie

(1) Butler p. 150 - notes.

(2) 'Poetry of Giacomo da Lentino,' Harvard University Press.

di Giacomo da Lentino, rimatore fra i più antichi, e certo il più celebre, dimostrano tre diverse tendenze d'arte, le quali ci riportano probabilmente a tre gradi successivi di svolgimento intellettuale nella vita di quel trovatore. Va rilevata dapprima una sorta di poesia, che si potrebbe chiamar borghese: espressione naturale e sincera dell' amore, senza affettazioni cortigiane e senza crudezze popolarresche, se bene v'è manifesta, come vedemmo, l'ispirazione dei temi popolare della donna innamorata e della malmaritata; poi la poesia veramente aulica e provenzaleggiante; infine una terza maniera di poesia non bene determinata, nè forse pienamente raggiunta, ma che, per certi tentativi di rinnovamento, per l'uso d'un materiale ricavato dalla scienza dell' età di mezzo, può denominarsi poesia dottrinale."(1)

Although it is always somewhat dangerous to bring poetic fancy into the realm of rules and scientific grouping, we shall always make a point of showing to which manner certain figures might conceivably belong. In dealing with the canzoni, I do not believe that any purpose would be served by dividing the poems into three groups according to the above distinctions; the sonnets, on the other hand, form a natural division and come under the third heading.

The poem which is usually accepted as the earliest composed by the notary, is one of the most charming. According to

(1) Op. cit. p. 332.

Cesareo it belongs to the first manner, that is to say, it was written before the poet's hypothetical sojourn at Bologna⁽¹⁾. It contains a figure, which, though so old as to be deemed traditional, lacks no charm which a skilful pen could bestow upon it.

"O stella riluciente,
 Che levi la mattina,
 Quando m'appar davanti
 Li suoi dolci sembianti
 M'inciendone la corina.
 — Dolcie meo sir, s'incendi
 Or io che degio fare?
 Tu stesso mi riprendi
 Se mi vei favellare;"⁽²⁾

Cesareo specially remarks upon the way in which the lady takes up her lover's image. Strangely enough, this image of the morning star is usually applied to the Virgin Mary, by Provençal poets.

Another early poem is the one beginning "Maravigliosamente." It also contains a very interesting figure, one which has the additional attraction of being a new conceit. The metaphor is that of a painter at work. To begin with the artist is distracted from his main object, to paint something which is uppermost in his mind. Then the poet tells us that madonna is painted in his heart. Finally he tells how he has painted the picture. In this connection Langley refers us to the waxen image which Tristan made of Isolde. I agree with Cesareo that the present instance is an entirely different usage.

(1) cp. Morandi

(2) Butler p. 7.

"Maravigliosamente
 Un amor mi distringe,
 E sovenemi ogn' ora;
 Com omo che ten mente
 In altra parte, e pinga
 La simile pintura;
 Così, bella, face' eo,
 Dentro allo core meo
 Porto la tua figura.

In cor par ch' eo vi porte,
 Pinta como voi sete,
 E non pare di fore.
 O Dèò, che mi par forte;
 Chè non so se savete
 Com io v'amo a bon core
 Ca son sì vergognoso
 Ch' eo pur ve guardo ascoso,
 E non vi mostro amore.

Avendo gran disio
 Dipinsi una pintura,
 Bella, a voi simigliante.
 E quando voi non vïo
 Guardo in quella figura
 E par ch' eo v'aggia avante,
 Sì com om che si crede
 Salvarsi per sua fede
 Ancor non vea inante."

The following stanza brings us to a change of figure. We are confronted once more with the familiar "fire" metaphor:

"Al cor m'arde una doglia
 Com om che tene 'l foco
 A lo suo seno ascoso.
 Che quanto più lo 'nvoglia
 Allora arde più loco,
 E non può stare incluso;
 Similmente io ardo,
 Quando passo e non guardo
 A voi viso amoroso."

Cesareo expresses himself strongly on this point: "Il paragone

della passione, che non può sfogarsi, col frizzare del fuoco nascosto nel petto, a me sembra originale e sensibile." 'Sensibile', yes, 'originale', no. Cesareo's adaptation of the comparison is original, but so were the adaptations of many another troubadour, Provençal and Italian alike, the genesis of the figure remains a commonplace.

The subsequent stanza describes the lover passing under his mistress' casement and sighing heavily at every step. Although this could hardly be termed, perhaps, a rhetoric figure, Cesareo's statement with regard to its sentiment, offers a challenge which it is hard to resist.

"Siamo giusti; ma dov'è il poeta provenzale che abbia reso o cercato di rendere con tanto freschezza e ingenuità, nuda persino di qualunque carezza d'arte, la verità del proprio stato e del proprio sentimento?" Now, despite the opening promise, Cesareo does not appear to me to be just. Provençal troubadour literature contains numberless examples of real passion expressed with all the freshness and frankness that could be desired.

Let Signor Cesareo read the poems of Bernart de Ventadorn, of Arnaud de Mareuil, of the Comtesse de Die; let him read the famous dawn-song (alba) of Giraut de Bornelh - where could we find a truer feeling expressed more sincerely? He resumes:

"Qui un giovane, che possiamo anche figurarci scolare, passa e ripassa sotto le finestre della sua bella, non sappiamo se ganza o sposa a un altro. Finalmente ella esce per via, o s'affaccia

alla finestra; ma egli non vuol farne accorta la gente, e finge di non guardare. Muove un passo e trae un sospiro; trae un sospiro, e muove un passo: e dentro dà in ismanie. Or se tutto ciò ha da gabellarsi per convenzionalismo. io non so proprio dove andremo a scovare la naturalezza." It is indeed true that nothing could be more charming and natural than this lover of the Notary's, he is worthy of Shakespeare; but surely the passage contains a grave implication against Provençal poetry? The Italian critic apparently condemns Provençal poetry with the same assurance as so many other writers. it is labelled "conventional." Being conventional no Provençal poet could have produced this delightful little picture, Giacomo da Lentino cannot be termed a conventional poet in the light of the present passage, therefore he owes nothing to Provençal tradition - this at least is the implication. Now, Provençal poetry is not conventional in the sense in which Cesareo uses the term - nor is the poetry of the Sicilian school, in general, conventional.

Troubadour poetry re-echoes with the sighs of true love. It is true that no Provençal minstrel ever penned such a verse as this, but he could not reasonably have been expected to do so. Poetry in Italy is not poetry in Provence. Midons lives in a castle-bower, madonna lives in a house. The poet is no longer a feudal baron, he is a notary. Poetry has come to the communes. An Italian lyric would certainly be conventional if a

bourgeois wrote it in the manner and style of a great noble. It is natural and right for Giacomo da Lentino to walk by madonna's window. the idea denotes just that logical change which we would expect to find. But why should this simple evolution be regarded as a unique evincement of sincerity in poetry? By being sincere, the Sicilian is adhering to the Provençal tradition and not departing from it. The Provençal muse is often inspired with deep feeling, but she expresses it in a different way.

And again, - Cesareo quotes the next verse and remarks: "c'è di meglio: c'è, che della propria sincerità il poeta ha coscienza. Infatti poco dopo dichiara: 'Non so se v'hanno detto ch'io lodi le vostre bellezze tanto per far de' versi (per arti); ma guardatemi, e vedrete la verità delle mie parole' - E questo dunque l'accento freddo d'un poeta convenzionale?" No, by all means, no. But at the same time I do not think that this quotation makes the argument more cogent. I do not like the "conscious" element - and one may ask, why need the poet take this precaution if he is inspired by strong feeling? Surely his lines will speak for themselves. The idea seems to me a mere concession to bourgeois prudence and caution.

The canzone "Madonna, dir vi voglio" is one which Cesareo attributes to that period in which Provençal influence was uppermost. The following conceit certainly reminds one forcibly of

the decadent troubadour period:

"Or dunque morire' eo?
No, ma lo core meo
More spesso e più forte
Che no faria di morte naturale."(1)

In the second stanza Cesareo apparently sees an evidence of Giacomo's new manner(2) and suggests as we saw previously that Inghilfreda was influenced by the verse, particularly in the last two lines. We would refer the reader to our earlier discussion of the point.

It seems to me that Cesareo's first surmise is correct, and that the whole poem is steeped in Provençalism.

"Tanto coralmente
Foc' aio, che non dredo mai si stingua,
Auzi se pur aluma;
Perchè non mi consuma?
La salamandra audi vi
Che nelo foco vivi, stando sana;
Così fo per long' uso,
Vivo in foco amoroso
E non saccio che dica;
Lo meo lavoro spica e non mi grana."

In the succeeding stanza we again meet with the painting figure which seems to please the Notary, and which certainly bears the stamp of originality:

"Lo non poter mi turba
Com om che pinga e sturba,
E pura li dispiace.
Lo pingere che face, e se riprende,
Che non è per natura
La propria pintura;"

(1) Butler p. 4.

(2) Cp. p. 368.

Notice the close of the verse, which also introduces an entirely original note: "E non è da biasmare omo che cade in mare, se s'apprende." Nannucci interprets the "s'apprende" as follows: "Whatever he catches hold of." So that the line possibly means "a drowning man may clutch at a straw." The expression has a proverbial ring which is entirely in keeping with the Provençal atmosphere of the piece - the troubadours delight in capping their remarks with a convincing adage. In stanza 4, there is a very fine allegorical figure of a storm. It is the first example of the kind we have encountered in Italian verse, although there are similar passages in the Provençal. The following are typical:

Arnaud de Mareuil:-

"Preyar no us aus per enten de jauzir,
Aissi cum selh qu'es nairatz per murir,
Sap que mortz es, e pero si s combat,
Vos clam merce ab cor dezesperat."(1)

Giraut de Bornelh:-

"E d'altra part sui plus despers
Per sobramar
Que naus, can vai torban per mar
Destrecha d'ondas e de vens;"(2)

Peire Vidal:-

"Atressi co.l perilhans
Que sus en l'aiga balansa
Que non a conort de vida,
Tan sofre greu escarida.
Que paors li tol membransa,
E pois quan ven a bon port
Per astre o per socors:
Tot aitals astres m'a sors,
Per qu'eu ai assatz razo,
De far novela chanso."(3)

(1) R. III., p. 223.

(2) Kolsen p. 60.

(3) Anglade p. 3.

Bertran de Born:-

"Anc naus en mar, quan a perdut sa barga
Et a mal temps et vai urtar a.l ranc
E cor plus fort qu'una saietta d'arc
E leva en aut e puois aval jos tomba,
No trais anc pieis, e dirai vos be com,
Qu'ieu fatz per lieis que no.m vol retener,
Que no.m mante jorn, terme ni convens,
Per que mos jois; qu'era floritz, bissesta."(1)

Guiraut de Calanson:-

"Tan vos am leyalmen,
Fems de dopt e partitz,
Cum perilhatz gueritz
A mala mar,
Quant a bon port lo mena belhs auratges."(2)

These figures are all more or less terse. Dramatic brevity of description is their prevailing characteristic. Points of resemblance might be noted between the Notary's shipwreck and that of Born or Vidal, but in the Italian I find a change in tone. The comparison is no longer dramatic, it is a narrative simile and the detail given, e.g. "gitta ogni pesanti," makes it rather heavy. It has lost the *rush* of waves and wind which is so striking in the Provençal. Let the reader judge:

"Lo vostro amore (che) m'ave
In mare tempestoso
Così como la nave
C'a la fortuna gitta ogni pesanti,
E campane per getto
Del loco periglioso,
Similmente eo getto
A voi, bella, lo miei sospiri e pianti.
E s'eo no gli gittasse,
Paria che s'afondasse;
E bene s'afondàra
Lo cor, tanto gravarà il suo disio.
Tanto si frangie a terra

(1) Stimming p. 103.

(2) Jeanroy 'Jongleurs et troubadours gascons' p. 44.

"Tempesta che s'aterra.
 Eo così mi frango,
 Quando sospiro e piango, posar creio." (1)

The last figure in the poem is one which has again provoked a comment from Cesareo. He says: "Altre canzoni del Notaro vanno riportate a quest' intervallo d'imitazione provenzalesca; ciò non ostante qua e là un' immagine di sorprendente evidenza, una vampa di passione sincera, balza pur di tra gli arzigogoli e le allumacature di codesti componimenti. Ecco, per esempio, nella chiusa della canzone "Madonna dir vi voglio," come efficacemente è colorita la disperata tristezza d'amore nel cuor del poeta:

"K' amore a tal l'adusse,
 Ca se vipra ivi fusse natura perderia:
 A tale o vedria, fora pietosa." (2)

Another poem which belongs to this earlier period of Provençal imitation is that beginning "Ben m'è venuta prima al cor doglienza." It contains an interesting historical allusion in the last verse.

"Voi so che sete senza percepenza.
 Como Fiorenza che d'orgoglio sente.
 Guardate a Pisa ch'è gran conoscenza
 Che fugge intenza d'orgogliosa gente.
 Già lungamente orgoglio v'ambalia;
 Melan a lo carroccio par che sia.
 Ma se si tarda l'umile speranza
 Se soffra sgombra, e vince ogni tardanza." (3)

(1) Butler p. 6.

(2) Cesareo p. 340.

(3) Butler p. 11.

Historical figures are rare and this one is particularly interesting, it enables us, in the first place to date the poem, and it shows us that Giacomo was of Ghibelline sympathies. Butler has appended the following note to his edition: "In 1232 Frederick had inflicted a heavy fine on Florence for its contumacy, particularly in carrying on hostilities against Siena. Pisa, on the other hand, had always been loyal, and accepted his measures for keeping the peace. Milan had suffered a severe chastisement in the battle of Cortenuova (Nov. 27th, 1237). On that occasion the Milanese had made a last stand round their *carroccio*; which was however captured and sent to Rome. The event carried dismay among the party; Piero della Vigna and Frederick himself announced it in letters to princes and peoples. It must have been fresh in memory when this was written."

The canzone "Amor non vole ch'io clami"⁽¹⁾ is not one which contains many poetic figures, but it merits our respectful attention because it contains the poet's conscious avowal of the fact that he is now seeking a new form of poetic expression. The eight-syllable line seems to indicate, in Cesareo's opinion, a popular influence.

"Amor non vole ch'io clami
 Merzede c'onni omo clama;
 nè ca eo m' avanti c'ami.
 C'ogni' omo s'avanta c'ama:
 Che lo servire c'onni' omo
 Sape fare non à nomo;
 E no è'n pregio di laudare

(1) No. 3, Langley.

"Quello che sape ciascuno.
A voi, bella, tale dono
Non voria apresentare."

Qui sono manifestamente enumerati e rigettati i motivi tipici dell' amore cavalleresco: l'implorar mercede, il vantarsi d'amare, il servire; tutte cose, dice il poeta, che ognuno fa, e che appunto per questo 'no è'n pregio di laudare': egli vuol offrire alla sua donna un dono più varo e più nobile.

"Perzò l'amore m'insengna
Ch'io non guardi a l'autra giente;
Non vuol ch'io resembri a scingna
C'ogni viso tene ('n) mente.
Perzò (eo, ma) donna mia,
A voi non dimanderia
Merzede nè pietanza:
Che tanti son gli amatori
Ch'este scinta di Savori
Merzede per troppa usanza."

Il poeta, non intendendo di scimmiegiar gli altri, protesta ch'ei non domanderà, secondo il formulario provenzale, 'merzede nè pietanza:' roba trita e ritrita, detta e ridetta, che, per il troppo uso, non sa più di nulla." The figure of the ape is entirely original in troubadour poetry and is an earnest of many other new animal figures to come. Cesareo continues:

"Ogni gioja ch'è più rara
Tenut' è più preziosa;
Ancora che non sia cara,
De l'altre è più graziosa:
Ca si este orientale
Lo zafiro asai più vale
Ed à meno di vertute;
E perzò ne le merzede
Lo mio core non v'aciede,

"Perchè l'uso l'a 'nvilute."

La nuova poesia avverte il Notaro, è simile a una gemma: più pregiata, non punto perchè più costosa dell' altre, ma perchè più rara. Come lo zaffiro orientale, benchè abbia minor virtù, ha valore più grande dell' altre gemme, così la nuova poesia va preferita a quella delle mercedi, ormai invilita dalla consuetudine.

"So' inviluti i scolosmini
Di quel tempo ricordato,
Ch'erano sì gai e fini:
Nulla gioja non n'è trovato.
E le merzè siano (a)strette
Che 'n nulla parte sian dette
Perchè paian gioie nove,
'N nulla parte sian trovate
Nè dagli amador chiamate
'Nfino che compie anni nove."

Le 'mercedi' dell' antica poesia sono invilite, come certe gemme che parvero un tempo tanto leggiadre: dunque il meglio è non parlar più di mercedi: siano costrette a uscir dalla lirica nuova e nessun amatore ne chieda, almeno per nove anni.

"Senza merzede potete
Saver, bella, o meo disio,
C'assai melglia mi vedete
Ch'io medesmo non mi veo.
E però s'a voi paresse
Altro, ch'esser non dovesse,
Per lo vostro amore avere.
Unque gioja non ci perdiate:
Così volete amistate?
Inanzi voria morire."

Che bisogno c'è di seguitare a tirar fuori le solite formole, quando la bella può legger nel cuore dell' innamorato assai meglio che non vi legga egli stesso? Ma se proprio ella desidera quegli ammennicole per dimostrazione d'amore, non isprechi il suo favore così: il poeta morrebbe prima di seguitare ad attendere a quell' arte decrepita.

Adolfo Bartoli intravvide primo in codesta canzone 'qualche cosa di satirico, di sarcastico contro la moda poetica del tempo.' A me quella canzone fa l'effetto d'un vero e proprio manifesto letterario; il quale dimostra nel poeta, non soltanto intera consapevolezza del maggior vizio della poesia italiana a quel tempo, il convenzionalismo freddo e servile, ma anche sicura fiducia nel rinnovamento a cui il Notaro mirava."

I agree with Cesareo that Bartoli is at fault in regarding the Notary as sarcastic or satiric. But, at the same time Cesareo's statements cannot be regarded as entirely accurate. For example, the Italian critic credits Giacomo da Lentino with being conscious of the defects evident in contemporary poetry. He regards this particular poem as a literary manifesto. This appears to me to be an exaggeration. I do not believe that the Notary is aware of the weaknesses of the Sicilian lyric. I believe that he is merely striving to find something new to say, he discards the "mercedi," the "vantarsi," the "servire" - not because he looks upon them as poetic abuses but because every-

body else uses them. In this respect Giacomo da Lentino in no way differs from his Provençal forebears, in especial, from the type of Folquet de Marselha. The desire to find new conceits, new forms of expression, was constantly evinced in troubadour poetry. On the whole, the Notary's declaration does not appear to be a very wholesome symptom. It seems to come from a wish to create effect by the adoption of a procedure, which is not radically new, but merely superficially different from that of other Sicilian poets. The words "consciousness" or "conscious effort" applied to lyric poetry always fill one with a sense of uneasiness and a vague apprehension. Will the Notary be able to give his strivings for novelty, the appearance of spontaneous expression? Will his new line of treatment be preferable to the time-worn "mercedì"? Cesareo proceeds at once to the discussion of the sonnets in which the new manner is most evident. We shall continue first, our examination of the canzoni, making a special study of figures which seem to be touched with the new spirit.

In Langley IV. we find another historical figure:

"Molt' è gran cosa ed inoiosa
 Chi vede ciò che più gli agrata.
 E via d'un passo è più dotata
 Ch'è d'oltremare in Saragosa,
 E di bataglia, ov' om si lanza
 E spada e lanza in terra o more;
 E nom pensare
 Di bandire una donna per dottanza."(1)

(1) Langley IV. v. 5.

Cesareo takes these lines to be a reference to the struggle between Genovese and Pisans for the possession of Syracuse. The victory was won by the former in 1205. If we could suppose the poem to be written in that year important deductions might be drawn from the fact,⁽¹⁾ but there seems no reason to suppose that the poem was not composed later. From 1205 - 1237 is a long period of production.

In the poetry of the Sicilian school we not infrequently encounter a faint forewarning of the "dolce stil nuovo." Every now and then the breath of a new spirit seems to pass over the poetry; as in the following lines:

"Che tanto lungiamente ò custumato,
Palese ed in celato,
Pur di merzè cherire,
Ch'i non saccio altro dire;
Es' altri m'adomanda ched agio eo,
E non so dir se non: merzè, per Deo!"⁽²⁾

In the third stanza of the same poem we find the familiar figure of the rose, in the present instance Notary Giacomo does not rise above the commonplace.

"Donna, gran meraviglia mi donate,
Chè 'n voi sembrate - sono tante alore,
Passate di bellezza ogn' altra cosa,
Come la rosa passa ogn' altro fiore;"⁽³⁾

The following stanza contains a bestiarial figure, but I do not draw from its presence any vital conclusion. The poem is stam-

(1) Cp. Cesareo p. 109.

(2) Langley VI. v. 1.

(3) Langley VI. v. 3.

-ped with Provençalism from beginning to end:

"Non mi rieredo di merze chiamare,
Perche contare audivi a molta gente
Che lo leone este di tale usato,
Che quand' è airato - più fellonamente
Per cosa, c'omo face, si rierede;"(1)

The words "audivi a molta gente" seem to bear witness to the fact that such references were frequent and widely used. Poem No. VIII. as a whole has been compared by Cesareo to "Trop ai estat qe bon esper novi" of Perdigon, with the following comment: "V'è rinnovato (in Lentino's poem) il materiale rettorico; v'è introdotto quà e là un movimento più semplice, più sincero, più affettivo, più drammatico; non so qual dolce e penetrante stanchezza s'effonde, come un profumo di rose morte, da questa malinconica composizione." Be this as it may, we cannot but endorse the opinion of Cesareo with regard to the closing stanza. He says: "Così in questi versi della strofe ultima si presente, o m'inganno, il soffio dello stil nuovo:"

"Non vo più sofferenza,
Ne dimorare omai
Senza Madonna, di cui moro, stando;
Che Amor mi move intenza,
E dicemi! Che fai?
La tua donna si muor di te, aspettando."(1)

Another even more striking example presents itself in the succeeding canzone. It is couched too in such terms that we begin to feel at last the tentacles of later scholasticism. One suspects

(1) Langley VIII. 5.

that Averrhoës' commentary on Aristotle's 'De Anima' is beginning to form the mental background of the cultured classes. Certainly no Provençal troubadour would have conceived of a sign "having" "spirito e intelletto." The philosophic treatment of love which was destined to be the main characteristic of the Bolognese and Florentine schools, is here in embryonic form.

"Ben vorria, s'io potesse,
Quanti sospiri getto,
C'ogni sospiro avesse
Spirito e intelletto,
Ch'a voi, donna, d'amare
Dimandasser pietansa,
Da poi che per dottansa
Non vo posso parlare."(1)

The timidity in speech before "Madonna" is of course a traditional trait in the literature of courtly love. In the same poem there is a figure which is nearly allied to the "painting" figures, already dealt with above. This particular example, however, must certainly have been inspired by the fact that Tristan made a wax image of Isolde. This is rendered all the more obvious by the fact that Giacomo refers to Isolde in the same stanza.

"In gran diletta' era,
Madonna, in quello giorno
Quando vi formai in cera
La bellesse d'intorno.
Più bella mi parete
Ca Isolda la bronda."(2)

(1) Langley IX.v.3.

(2) Langley IX.v.6.

In poem X. we are confronted with the "heart-exchange" conceit which was so common in Provençal poetry. It is rare among the Sicilians. Perhaps its absence marks a new development in thought. In any case these lines, written by the Notary Giacomo might have been penned by Giraut de Bornelh:

"Lo meo core eo agio lassato
A la dolze donna mia;
.....
Co' madonna sta lo core,
Che de lo meo petto è fore,
E dimova in sua bailia."(1)

Cp. Giraut de Bornelh:

"Mos cors s'en vai
Lai on li plai.
Ses cor viu, car ab me no l'ai,
Qu'ilh l'a en bailia."(2)

In canzone XII., however, we are rewarded **by** one of those rare gems of rhetoric which Giacomo da Lentino produces from time to time - a whole orchard, he says, can become pleasing for the sake of one fruit.

"Se l'amor ch'io vi porto
Non posso dire in tutto,
Vagliami alcun bon motto;
Chè per un frutto - piace tutto un orto,
E per un bon conforto
Si lascia un gran corrotto,
E ritorna in disdutto."(3)

The next verse brings us back to the realm of Provençal tradi-

(1) Langley IX.v.3.

(2) Kolsen p. 174.

(3) Langley XII.v.3.

tion, but on this occasion the lines are instinct with feeling:

"E se amasse voi, madonna mia,
E voi amaste meve,
Se fosse neve - poco mi parria,
E notte e dia,
E tuttavia, - mentre ch'avragio amore;
E chi ben ama, ritorna in dolzore."(1)

Canzone XIII. brings us again to the story of the savage man - with which we are now becoming familiar, we cannot but feel that the Sicilians admired him intensely for the stalwart front with which he faced adversity, meeting ill fortune (bad weather?) with a laugh.

"A ciò non mi scoragio
D'amor che m'a distretto:
Si com' omo salvagio
Paragio, com' è detto - ch' ello face:
Per lo reo tempo ride,
Sperando che poi pera
La laida ara che vide;
Di donna troppo fera - spero pace."(2)

In stanza 4 of the same poem we find another evidence of scholastic influence. The Sicilian poets have not of course attained to the complicated "spirit" psychology which we encounter in the Vita Nuova, but they are learning gradually to interpret the workings of their minds in terms of the three spirit theory. Giacomo expresses himself thus:

"Quando vi tegno mente,
Lo spirito mi manca - e torna in ghiaccio."(3)

(1) Langley XII.v.4.

(2) Langley XIII.v.2.

(3) Langley. XIII.v.4.

The anti-climax is rather amusing. Giacomo is still rather uncertain of his vocabulary.

Canzone XVI. in Langley's edition contains some interesting figures. Unfortunately it is a poem of doubtful attribution and has been dealt with among the works of Pier della Vigna, to whom it is given by Monaci.

With the picture of that one fruit in the orchard, still fresh in our minds we come with delight upon the figure of the tree overgrown with ivy. It is the first occurrence of the comparison:

"In sì gran sicuranza Amor m'à meso
I'lo suo gran valore,
A cui son tuto dato,
Ed infiamato - di sì buono amore,
Com' albero che d'ellera è sorpreso." (1)

Immediately following upon this lyrical touch comes a simile which is decidedly more prosaic - the figure of the lode-star, which always brings to mind the arid conceits of a Folquet de Marselha:

"Lo veder mi sotrasse;
Sì come il ferro fa la calamita,
Così, m'è aviso, Amor mi sotragesse,
Parve che mi furasse
Subitamente core, corpo e vita,
Ch'io non son mio quanto un ago pungesse." (2)

Notice the additional note in the last line - "a pin-point" is quite in keeping with the matter of fact tone of the passage.

Verse 3 brings us a couplet worth quoting - it is a proverbial

(1) XVIII.v.1.

(2) XVIII.v.2.

adage which the troubadours in Provence might well have used:

"E cominciato - m'ave a meritare;
Bon fine aspetta bon cominciamento."(1)

as also the following:

"Com' omo c'a disascio
Aspetto d'avere ascio,
Poco di bene piglia per talento."(2)

Verse 4 of the same poem is written in that reflective tone already noticed in the Italian troubadours. The Provençal troubadours do not think deeply - as we have had occasion previously to remark. The passage quite evidently belongs to the new manner in poetry and the new procedure in love, which Cesareo has so ably discussed. There is no call for mercy here - Giacomo believes that faith will remove mountains, by faith and rule (*sua lege* - which I find impossible to translate) he will win consolation, he will not decamp - this smacks considerably of bourgeois determination!

"Come quello che crede
Salvarsi per sua fede,
Per sua lege venire in salvamente
A meve così pare:
Non credo mai scampore
Sed ell' a me non dà consolamento."

Canzone XX. in Langley is also a poem of doubtful attribution. It was written most probably by Arrigo Testa and has

(1) XVIII.v.3.

(2) Langley XIX.v.3.

been treated accordingly as being his work. Monaci offers the following explanation of this confusion of authorship: "Esso (Arrigo Testa) non era, come si credette, di Lentino o di Reggio in Calabria, ma d'Arezzo, e la confusione fatta intorno alla sua patria e al suo nome si vede esser nota dal titolo con invio al Notajo, che questa canzone recava sul ms. d'onde derivarono le tre copie che sono nei canzonieri."(1)

Canzone XXII. contains two familiar troubadour conceits. The idea of gold refined in the furnace is one which we have already met with(2).

"Così afino ad amarvi.
Com' auro a la fornace.
C'afina pur ardendo."(3)

Then follows the familiar conception of the bird of prey. In Provençal the types of this figure are very varied. There are two instances of the goshawk(4) but we find also the vulture, hawk and falcon. Sometimes the figure is a mere suggestion as in this case - sometimes it is full and technical.

"Delle c'ò punsamento
Potere essere ausgello.
Per veder suoe alteze.
Andrò senza richiamo
A lei che tegno e bramo.
Com' astore a pernice."

The figure is not altogether a happy one. The rôle of bird of prey is not one calculated to win favour, nor would the lady be

(1) Monaci p. 63.

(2) Cp. Peire Vidal, Anglade pp. 105 - 6, 137.

(3) Langley XXII.v.1.

(4) Capdoil, Raynouard III.. p. 182., Richart de Barbézieux, R. III.. p. 455.

flattered, we imagine, to find herself compared to a partridge.

Langley closes the series of authentic canzone with a very charming "descort," of which Cesareo says: "l'angoseia del desiderio mi pare espressa con accesa verità d'agitazione, in que' versi:

'Di voi, bel viso,
 Son priso
 E conquiso.
 Chè, fra dormentare
 Mi fa levare
 E intrare
 In sì gran foco,
 Ca per poco
 Non m'aucido
 De lo strido
 Ch'io ne gitto.'"

The impetuosity of the Provençal descort is here equalled, if not surpassed. Suggestions of metaphor, follow one another, with that lightness of touch which brings to mind at once the famous passage in Arnaut de Mareuil - "Plus bela que bels jorns de mai." (1)

1. 30. La rimembranza
 Di voi, alente cosa,
 gli ochi m'arosa
 D'un aqua d'amore.
 Or potess' eo,
 O amore meo,
 Come romeo
 Venire ascoso
~~disioso~~
 Con voi vedisse,
 Non mi partisse
 Dal vostro dolzore!"

(1) Barstch p. 102.II.

There are slight references to the pilgrim in Provençal poetry, but none quite like this. The poem trips daintily along till at l. 60 our attention is again arrested by one of those slender testimonies of the growth or rather birth of the philosophic treatment of love. The poet proceeds to have a conversation with his own heart - this is a rudimentary form of introspection which was developed later by the poets of the "dolce stil nuovo." At the same time, it makes a very charming metaphor:

1. 60. "Rispondi: che fai?
 Perché doglio
 Così?
 'Non ti rispondo,
 Ma ben ti confondo,
 Se tosto non vai
 Là ove voglio
 Co' mi.
 Cà la fresca cera
 Tempesta e dispera;
 In pensiero m'ai
 Misso l'n cordoglio
 Per ti.'
 Così bella
 Si favella
 Lo mi' core con meco."

The remaining figures are all culled from poems which Langley regards as being of doubtful attribution. Curiously enough, Cesareo quotes two of these as a proof of the reform which the Notary was introducing in the realm of rhetoric ornament. The fact that they are unauthentic weakens the critic's theory considerably. The figures in question are bestiarial in type, and one cannot help feeling that the poet who penned them must have

been writing with a bestiary at his elbow. The comparisons succeed one another in rather an inartistic fashion. I credit the Notary with too much fineness of feeling to permit the interlacing of so many figures of one type.(1)

"Lo badalischio a lo spechio lucente
Trage a morire con isbaldimento,
E'l cecer canta più gioiosamente
Quando vene a lo suo finimento;
Lo paor turba quando è più gaudente,
Poi c'a suoi piedi à riguardamento;
Ausgel fenice s'arde veramente
Per ritornare i' novel nascimento."(2)

"Guardando 'l basalisco velenoso.
Che 'l so isguardare face l'on perire
E l'aspido serpente invidioso.
Che per ingegno mette altrui a morire,
E lo dragone, ch'è sì argoglioso,
Cui ellì prende no lassa partire;
A loro asenblo l'Amor, ch'è doglioso,
Che tormentando altrui fa languire."(3)

Apart from these two passages, there are two very interesting figures. The first is a happy and original one:

"Come l'arcento vivo fuge il foco,
Cosè mi fa del viso lo colore,
Quando vi son davanti i' nesun loco
Per domandarvi, bella, gio' d'amore."(4)

The other is a curiously involved scientific figure, which is original in itself but which resembles in quality certain figures of the same type in Provençal poetry, particularly in the poems of Folquet de Marselha. An example will illustrate the point

(1) Cp. Cesareo p. 345.

(2) Langley XXVIII.

(3) Langley XXX.

(4) Langley XXIX.

better than any explanation could!

"Quar, si be.us etz grans, eissamen
Podetz en me caber leumen
Quo.s s devezis una grans tors
En un pauc miralh, e.il largors
Es i tan grans que, si.us plagues,
Enquer neys y caubra Merces."(1)

The Italian runs in this wise:

"Ma voglio lei a lumera asomigliare
E gli occhi mei al vetro ove si pone.
Lo foco inchiuso poi passa di fore
Lo suo lostrore senza far rotura;
Così per gli ochi mi passa lo core.
No la persona, ma la sua figura."(2)

Neither figure is very clear, nor is the application of either very much to the point. The second is rendered particularly interesting, however, by another cause. This identical metaphor is taken up by Giacomo in a sonnet of which the authorship is established without doubt. So that if the original figure was not composed by the Notary, he must at least have seen it and been attracted by it. I do not believe it possible that two poets could have lighted upon the same conceit independently.

But we must devote our attention now to the sonnets, which probably represent the most important section of the Notary's work. Cesareo says: "Lo studio di quei sonetti ci rivela l'innovazione accennata nella canzone, che dichiarammo qui a dietro. E la forma stessa del sonetto, ignoto alla poesia pro-

(1) Stronski p. 43.

(2) Langley XXVII.

venzale, fu trovata e mantenuta poi sempre da Giacomo, quasi segnacolo della sua nuova poesia."⁽¹⁾ With regard to the sonnet form, one hesitates in agreeing with the last statement of Cesareo. I do not know why Giacomo should be regarded as the first to use the sonnet - one would be glad of a little explanation on this point.⁽²⁾ Gaspari says: "Among the Sicilians it was rare. Pier della Vigna, King Enzo and Mazzeo Ricco, have been credited with one sonnet each, and Jacopo da Lentino with a larger number, but it is doubtful whether these pieces have all been correctly assigned to their real authors."⁽³⁾ As a matter of fact the form probably took its origin from the "tenzone"⁽²⁾ and in this connection it is valuable to remember that the two earliest Italian tenzoni we possess are carried on through the medium of interchanged sonnets. The first of these discussions consists of three poems, the challenge is given by Jacopo Mostacci, it is taken up by Pier della Vigna and closed by the Notary. The second is a longer discussion between the Abbate of Tivoli and the Notary. Both pieces of work are of an exceedingly high literary quality.

Langley includes both in his edition, and we could not do better than begin our study of Lentino's sonnets by an examination of the rhetorical language used. Jacopo Mostacci opens a discussion on the nature of love.... "omo dici ch'Amor a

(1) p. 344.

(3) 'Ital. Lit.' p. 65.

(2) In this connection cp. "The Invention of the Sonnet" (Modern Philology Dec. 1915)

podere,/ e gli coragi distringe ad amare;/ ma eo non lo voglio consentire, però ch'Amor no parse ni pare." The subject is interesting in itself because it points once again to the workings of a new spirit. Jacopo feels dissatisfied with the usual acceptance of love as a personified abstraction or a pagan god - to me love is a state, he says, which comes from pleasure. Jacopo, however, does not receive any sympathy from his friends - they do not share his doubts. Pier della Vigna has no qualms of this kind, those who think that love is nothing because it cannot be seen are "di fole sapere," love can be felt, ruling folk through their hearts, and must thus have much more power than if it were visible to the eye - he concludes his remarks with the lode-star figure:

"Per la vertute de la calamita
 Como lo ferro atral non si vede,
 Ma si lo tira signorevolmente;
 E questa cosa a credere m' invita
 Ch' Amore sia creduto fra la gente."

The Notary's contribution to the matter in hand, is worthy of quotation as a whole because it is a full and entire acceptance of the Provençal psychology of love: "It is engendered in the eyes, with gazing fed."

"Amor è un disio che ven da core
 Per abondanza di gran placimento;
 E gl' occhi in prima generan l'amore,

"E lo core li dà nutricamento.
 Ben è alcuna fiata om amatore,
 Senza vedere so' namoramento;
 Ma quel amor che stringe con furore,
 Da la vista degl' ochi à nascimento
 Chè gl' ochi rapresentan a lo core
 D'ogni cosa, che vedere, bona e ria,
 Com' è formata naturalmente;
 E lo core chedi zo è concepitore,
 Zo che imagina e place, quel disia
 E questo amore regna fra la gente."

The second tenzone is again upon the subject of love, but it is a little difficult to follow. It is rather rambling in style and one is aware that it has bearing upon personal circumstances of which we have no knowledge. One thing is quite clear, scandal-mongers have issued false reports regarding the Notary's views upon love, these have come to the ears of the Abbot. Giacomo expresses a knowledge of these rumours and discredits them. The Abbot generously withdraws all suspicion and writes a sonnet upon his friendship for the Notary which is one of the finest things in early Italian poetry.

The tenzone opens in a curious way. It is an invocation to the god of love, and shows that the belief in cupid was even more firmly rooted in Italian than in Provençal where it had become a mere question of empty formulae. A very literal adherence to classical usage is present here. L'Abbate begins:

"Oì! Deo d'Amore, a te faccio preghiera
 Càam'inteniate s'io chero razone:

"Cad io son tutto fatto a tua maniera,
 Cavelli et barba agio a tua fazone,
 Ed ogni parte aio, viso et cera,
 E segio in quatro serpi ogni stasgione
 Per l'ale gran giornata m'è leggera,
 Pero fui fatto a tua sperasgione.
 E son montato per lo quattro scale,
 E som asiso; ma tu m'ài feruto
 De lo dardo de l'auro; ond' ò gran male,
 Chè per mezzo lo core m'ài partuto.
 Di quello de lo piombo fa 'altretale
 A quella per cui questo m'è avenuto."(1)

Giacomo replies:

"Feruto sono isvariatemente:
 Amore m'a feruto: o! per che cosa?
 Cad io degia dire lo conveniente
 Di què che di trovar non ànno posa.
 Cà dicono ne' lor detti fermamente,
 C'Amore à deità un sè richiosa;
 Ed io lo dico che non è neiente,
 Ca dio d'amore sia od essere osa."

Thus the Notary denies, candidly, the existence of a god of love - surely he is becoming affected by those views of Jacopo Mos-
 tacci which he at first rejected. The Abate di Tivoli is vio-
 lated in his most cherished beliefs. "I don't believe that

(1) Notice the remarkable fact that the Abate di Tivoli appears to know well Guiraut de Calanso's "minor tertz d'amor." It will be remembered that this is the only place where we encounter the leaden arrow in Provençal; so far as we have gone, it is also the only instance in Italian. The "quatro scale" make another point of resemblance. The Provençal reads in this wise:

"En son palais, on ela vai jazer,
 A cinc portals, e qui.ls dos pot obrir
 Leu passa.ls tres, mas no.n pot leu partir,
 Et ab gaug viuçel qu'i pot remaner;
 E poia .i hom per quatre gras mont les,
 Mas no.i intra vilans ni mal apres, etc."

"you are really in love," he says, "if love had wounded you in the heart, you would not talk in terms of divinity, but rather, would believe whole heartedly." He then proceeds to explain that the nature of love is of "very hard understanding" (or knowledge) and he draws an interesting parallel - those who look on can blame very readily -

"Sì n'advien come d'una bataglia;
Chi sta veder riprende chi combatte.
Quella ripresa non tegno a vaglienza.
Chi acatta lo mercato sa che vaglia;
Chi leva sente più che quel che batte."

Therefore, Giacomo not being in the game, cannot give any but an erroneous judgment. The line of argument adopted by the Notary in replying is somewhat difficult to follow. He begins with rather a vehement couplet:

"Cotale gioco mai nom fue veduto,
C'agio vercogna di dir ciò che sento,"

The next few lines appear to be a refutation of the Abate's opinion that he is an onlooker. There are nononlookers in the game of love, he seems to say:

"Perc' ogn' omo ne vive a scaltrimento -"

There is a slight digression upon the fact that even a slight wound of love produces the same consequences, then he

suddenly turns upon "i menzonieri," with all the vehemence of the opening lines, declaring with a certain pride: "ma io lo vero dicolo volontieri," followed up again by the wary bourgeois discretion:

"Ma tacciolini, che no mi sia vergogna;"

and concluded - strange anomaly - by an address to Love itself:

"Ca d'ogni parte, Amor, o pensieri,
Ed entra meve com' acqua in spogna."(1)

Yes, Jacopo da Mostacci has given the Notary serious food for reflection. He would not now answer glibly: "L'Amor è un desio, che viene dal core" - the leaven has had time to leaven the whole. Giacomo da Lentino will not permit himself now to discuss the nature of love. Apparently his reply closes the argument, because the Abate di Tivoli does not attempt a resumption of it. His tone seems to convey the impression that he regards Giacomo as a person with whom it is impossible to argue, and equally impossible to be annoyed, "give me your love," he says, "for I love Lentino well, if I have said anything injurious about you 'reposome 'nde'". The sonnet contains a very beautiful comparison of the traditional May-day type, so we will permit ourselves to quote the former in full:

"Con vostro onore facciovi uno' nvito,

(1) Notice the recurrence of this figure, cp. p.111

"Ser Giacomo valente, (a cui mi chino);
 Lo vostro amor varia fermo e compito,
 E per vostro amor ben amo Lentino.
 Lo vostro detto, poi ch'io l'agio adito,
 Più mi rischiara che l'airo serino.
 Magio infra li mesi è 'l più alorito,
 Per dolzi fior, che spande, egli è 'l più fino.
 Or dunque a magio asimigliato sete,
 Chè spandete (fior dolzi) ed amorosi,
 Più di nullo altro amador c'omo saccia.
 Ed io v'amo più che non credete;
 Se 'nver di voi trovai detti noiosi,
 Riposome' nde, allora c'a voi piaccia."

Despite the avowal of ll. 5 - 6 the whole tenzone remains a teasing problem to the modern reader. Probably some of the stanzas are lost, undoubtedly a personal quarrel underlies the literary discussion, and possibly in the former "i menzognieri" have played a prominent part. The great interest which the work contains for us is the speculative attitude of mind shown by Lentino. This thoughtful tone coupled with a tendency to question current conventions, is not a new phenomenon. We have already encountered it in the troubadours of Italian origin(1). The Sicilians probe deeper than do the Provençals, into the problems of the mind.

The sonnets are decidedly unequal in quality and are very varied in style. I fail to see any conscious or continuous development of a new literary theory. For our particular branch of study the sonnets are more valuable than the canzoni, they are highly figurative, and the figures are very frequently long

(1) Cp. p. 195-196.

and well sustained. From a general literary view-point, probably the most striking feature is the masterly handling of the sonnet form. The dignified and stately, though rapid, flow of the verse, is worthy of comparison with the sonnets of Shakespeare.

The field of rhetoric figures is, we repeat, particularly rich and must claim henceforward our undivided attention. It will be noticed that there is a tendency to use the simile and to develop its form. The figure assumes a distinctly Homeric character.

No. IX., which is the first worthy of quotation, opens with the lily comparison. The lily is a familiar flower in the Provençal lyric, but it is merely the genesis of a figure there, there is no instance in which it matures, as does the rose comparison.

"Lo giglio, quand' è colto, tost' è passo.
 Da poi la sua natura lui no è giunta;
 Ed io, da che son partuto uno
 Da voi, mia donna, dolemi ogni giunta.
 Perchè d'amare ogni amadore passo,
 In tanto alteze lo mio core giunta;
 Così mi fere Amor là 'vunque passo,
 Com aghila quand' a la caccia è giunta."

The eagle figure is also a familiar one. The play upon "giunta" is a feature destined to become characteristic of these sonnets. Replication and equivocal rhymes are adopted on several occas-

sions, nos. IX, X, XVI. and XVII. are written entirely in the spirit of the "trobar clus." Many troubadours, as we know, prided themselves upon linguistic feats of this description.

No. X. is highly figurative. It opens with the curious conceit of light passing through glass, which we had occasion to discuss with regard to the doubtful poem L. XXVII. As we said in that connection, the Notary must either be responsible for both, or have plagiarised the first, because the figure is too fantastic to have been evolved independently by different poets. In this sonnet the "rimas Cars" are upon the word "spera" - it is severally a ray, a mirror, the verb "hopes" etc.

"Sicome il sol che manda la sua spera
E passa per lo vetro e no lo parte,
E l'altro vetro che le donne spera
Che passa gli occhi e va da l'altra parte;
Così l'Amore fere là ove spera,
E mandavi lo dardo da sua parte;
Fere in tal loco che l'omo non spera.
Passa per gli occhi e lo core diparte.
Lo dardo de l'Amore, là ove giunge,
Da poi che dà ferula, sà s'apprende
Di foco c'arde dentro e fuor nom pare.
E due cori insieme ora li giunge,
De l'arte de l'Amore sà gli aprende,
E fa ch' è l'uno e l'altro d'amor pare."

Apart from the initial figure, no comment is required. The darts of love and the hidden fire are commonplaces.

No. XI. opens as follows:

"Molti amadori la lor malatia
Portano in core, che' m vista nom pare;"

The use of the word "malatia" is novel and points again to the idea, which was gradually gaining ground, that love is a state of mind. Sometimes the troubadours compare themselves to one ill of a fever - but the usage is not generic as here. The sonnet closes also upon an important note:

"Se non quanto madonna è di mi fore,
Ed un poco di spirito ch'è 'n meve."

We refer of course to the word "spirito" - the use of this word is baffling. We are not yet in full possession of the three spirit theory, evidently. What Giacomo means by spirit, it would be rather hard to say. Without wishing to lay too much stress upon details, we are tempted to think that this usage marks the beginnings of Aristotelian influence. Giacomo had heard something of Averrhoës at Bologna - and perhaps had not wholly mastered the facts.

No. XII. contains one little maritime figure, but the application of it remains somewhat obscure, on account of the curious "penna caro." In his effort to sustain the "rimas equivo-vas" the Notary has led us into difficulty.

"Or vi mostrate irata: dunqu'è raro,
Senza ch'io pechi, darmi penitenza;
E fatt' avete de la penna caro,
Come nochar c'è falsa conoscenza."

No. XIII. does not contain metaphorical figures properly speaking, but the ideas contained in it must be noted as they have again provoked the attention of Cesareo. I quote Langley's text:

"Ogn' omo, c'ama, dè amar lo suo onore
 E de la donna, che prende ad amare
 E folle chi non è conoscidore
 Che la natura dè l'omo isforzare.
 E non dè dire cio ch'egli ave in core,
 Chè la parola non pò ritornare;
 E da la gente n'è tenuto migliore
 Chi à misura nelo suo parlare.
 Dunque, madonna, mi voglio soffrire
 Di far sembianti a la vostra contrata,
 Chè la gente si forza di maldire.
 E facciol perchè nom siate blasmata;
 Chè l'omo si diletta più di dire
 Lo male che lo bene tale fiata."

Cesareo makes the following comments: "Del resto, l'intendimen-
 to del poeta si rivela meglio in certi motivi ripresi dal formu-
 lario provenzale, ma riattegiati a un' espressione più penetran-
 te e più umana. Ecco, per esempio, come i dire triti concetti
 del servo che può, aspettando e sperando, salire in alto, e dei
 malparlieri, son riportati a un significato più intimo, più pro-
 fondo, più universale." Forthwith the sonnet is quoted. Then
 Cesareo resumes: "Come ognun vede, tutto ciò che nella poesia
 provenzale era legge cavalleresca, qui s'allarga in ammonimento
 di morale borghese. Il vassallo che, a furia di fedeltà e di
 costanza, aspetta di esser rimeritato dal suo signore, diventa

l'uomo che può, volendo 'isforzare' la natura; giova guardarsi dal rivelare a tutti il proprio sentimento, non punto perchè ciò contraddica alle regole prestabilite del fino amore, ma a quelle universali della prudenza comune:

'Da tutta gente tenuto' è migliore
Chi ha misura ne lo so parlare;'

in fine, bisogna guardarsi da' ficchini e da' maldicenti. non già per modo di dire, ma per rimeditata esperienza della vita: gli uomini, a volte, si piacciono di raccontare più il male che il bene. Qui dunque il cavaliere, il cortigiano armato di frasi bell' e fatte, non c'è più; c'è in sua vece l'uomo di studio, che osserva sinceramente e rende originalmente anche que' fatti, che la tradizione elegante aveva avvezzato i cortigiani a considerare soltanto secondo lo spirito del feudalismo e della cavalleria."

It is very difficult to regard these statements as the outcome of serious comparison. We have had occasion previously to notice the symptoms of bourgeois morality in the Notary's poems. Here, with all due deference to the eminent critic's judgment, they do not appear to be present. Discretion and moderation are the touchstone of the Provençal love system - to what was the "senhals" due, if not to the idea that a lady's honour must be jealously safe-guarded? Moderation in love was

constantly preached from the earliest times, as, for instance in Marcabru:

"De cortesia .es pot vanar
Qui ben sap mesur' egardar;
Mesure es de gen parlar
E cortesia es d'amar."(1)

The idea persisted throughout Provençal poetry and we find it developed fully by Montanhagol, one of the last troubadours. Montanhagol died in 1258 and the Notary died in 1246, so that there is a possibility of inter-influence. The fact that the Provençal poet was also a strong advocate of moderation makes it still less likely that Giacomo's views are due to "rimeditata esperienza della vita." Both poets are following the line of an ancient tradition. Montanhagol is a distant disciple of Marcabru:

"Qu'amors non es ~~res~~ mas aysso qu'enansa
So que ama e vol ben leialmen.
E qui .n quier als, lo nom d'amor desmen.
.....
Mas amans dregz non es desmezuratz,
Enans ama amezura damen,
Quar entre .l trop e.l pauc mezura/jatz."(2)

Again, the warning to beware of "i malparlieri," is a commonplace of troubadour poetry, the lines "l'omo si diletta più di dire/ lo male che lo bene," are entirely in the style of the Provençal moral and proverbial sentence. What does Cesareo im-

(1) Déjeanne XV., 3 - 4.

(2) Coulet, X., 2 and 4.

-ply by saying that the place of the knight and courtier has been taken by the man of study? He credits Giacomo with discovering anew the facts which the troubadours cited as traditional belief. Upon what grounds does he do this? We are unable to discover. As to keen observation of life; it would be hard indeed to find anything more shrewd, subtle and far-reaching than a Provençal minstrel's understanding of human nature.

No. XIV. is exceedingly Provençal in character. It is an enumeration of contrast figures, none of which could be termed original. As will be remembered, the contrast is a device of which the troubadours were particularly fond, it is too familiar a phenomenon to require illustration. It became almost a vice in troubadours such as Folquet de Marselha, Guiraut de Salignac, Raimon de Miraval, etc. An instance of the fine poetic effect which it could produce is to be found in Richart de Barbézieux.(1)

"Aissi ven bes apres dolor,
Et apres gran mal jauzimen,
E rics joys apres marrimen.
E loncs repaus apres labor etc."

An example of pernicious usage could be drawn from the Sicilian school itself e.g. Rugieri Apugliese's poem "Umile sono ed orgoglioso, prode e vile e coragioso." (2) In the present sonnet, we are very pleased with the result at the beginning

(1) R. III. p. 457.

(2) Monaci p. 209. when this device persists through a whole poem as in this instance there is usually a conundrum involved which the poet explains in the second part of the piece; thus we find the name "devinalh" or "indovinello" applied to such compositions. The effect is extraordinarily artificial.

but rather tired of it at the end.

"All' aira chiara ò vista plogia dare,
 Ed a lo scuro rendere chiarore,
 E foco arzente ghiaccia diventare,
 E freda neve rendere calore,
 E dolze cosa molto amareare,
 Ed el amare rendere dolzore,
 E due guerrieri im fina pace stare,
 E' ntra due amici nascere incendore.
 Ed ò vista d'Amor cosa più forte:
 Ch'era feruto, e sanò mi ferendo;
 Lo foco donde ardea stutò com foco.
 La vita che mi diè fue la mia morte;
 Lo foco che mi stense ora ne' ncendo;
 D'amor mi trasse e misemi im su' loco."

Notice how the Peleus' lance figure has become crystallised in line 10.

No. XV. is what Langley terms "a little early masterpiece." He regards it as one the best and most original though, as he says, the central theme has been used before. He comments upon the naïve sincerity and warmth of feeling, the effective turns of expression and skilful use of the sonnet form. Unfortunately, from our point of view, the poem contains no figures of speech at all - the first line will suffice to bring it to memory.

"Io m'agio posto in core a Dio servire,"

Again one seems to feel the early workings of the "dolce stil nuovo" spirit.

No. XVI. again brings us to the arid contrivance of "re-

plicazione e alliterazione." The Notary will now show us in how many ways he can use the word "viso." One is forcibly reminded of the disciples of Malherbe, whose metrical gymnastics produced lines of poetry that could be read beginning from either end! The sestette however, compensates amply for the octave. It is a very charming piece of natural writing. Attention must be called to the "dolce riso" so often referred to by the Provençal troubadours, to whom love meant joy. The last two lines again remind us of the "dolce stil nuovo:"

"chi vide mai cosi begli ochi in viso?
 Nè sì amorosi fare li senbianti?
 Nè boca con cotanto dolce riso?
 Quand' ee li parlo, moroli davanti,
 E paremi ch'i vada in paradiso,
 E teginomi sovrano d'ogn' amanti."

The "accenno" of the "stil nuovo" is noted by Cesareo(1)

No. XVII. is a complicated development of XVI. and contains no figures. Langley summarises it thus: "In a number of obscure variations upon the word 'viso' the poet tells the influence of his lady's face, which, though they are separated, he still beholds in imagination, and from which he can never be parted."

No. XVIII. is, as Langley points out, a mere agglomeration of poetic commonplaces; but notice that Giacomo does not scruple to term his lady "aquila guerriera." This bluntness is

(1) p. 351.

somewhat unusual. We had occasion to note an instance of it earlier in Pier Vidal's poem⁽¹⁾ where he says his lady is "dragon-hearted." Further than this no comment is required except to point out that this is the first occasion on which the hardness of the diamond has been referred to.

"Si alta amanza à presa lo me' core
 Ch'i mi disfido de lo compimento
 Chè in aguija gruera ò messo amore;
 Ben est 'orgoglio, ma no falimento.
 Ch' Amor l'encalza e spera aulente frore;
 Ch'albor altra incrina dolce vento,
 E lo diamante ronpe a tute l'ore
 De lacrime lo molle sentimento.
 Donqua, madonna, se lacrime e pianto
 Del diamante frange la durezza,
 La vostra alteze poria ispasare
 Lo meo penar amoroso, ch'è tanto,
 Umiliare la vostra durezza,
 E foco d'amor in vui alumare."

XIX. is a sonnet of quite a new type in that it contains a scriptural parallel. Apart from this fact the spirit is thoroughly Provençal - suffering brings its reward, joy awaits him who has suffered well.

"Per sofrenza si vince gran vettura,
 Ond' omo ven spesora in dignitate,
 Sì con si trova nel' antica istoria
 Di Iobo, ch'ebbe tanta avversitate,
 Chi fu sofrente, no perdìo memoria
 Per grave pene ch'a lui fosser date;
 Onde li fu data corona in gloria
 Davanti la divina maestate.
 Però conforto grande, dico, prendo;

(1) Anglade p. 36.

"Ancor la mia ventura vada torta,
 Non me dispero certo malamente.
 Chè la ventura sempre va corendo,
 E tostamente rica gioia aporta
 A chiunque sia bono soferente."

Biblical reminiscences, as we saw, are not infrequent in Provençal. Pier Vidal has a particular fondness for them. There is a slight reference to Job in Peire d'Auvergne.

"Tug morrem, qu'avens no.us gueris
 Negin al temps plus que fis Jop."(1)

XX. is not so interesting from a literary point of view. It is rather heavy and dull. As an example of metaphor, however, it is valuable. It contains a full treatment of the "buon signore" and the "reo signore" figures, the "reo signore" in this case being Amore. If the sonnets do really represent the latest stage in the evolution of Lentino's art, the use of this entirely feudal simile shows us that poetry had not yet completely broken contact with the world of chivalry. Indeed the bourgeois tone does not seem to me so strong in the sonnets as in the canzoni, and it must always be borne in mind that the Provençal troubadours were steeped in conventional morality. The sonnet is as follows:

"Certo me par che far dea bon signore
 I' signoria sua fier cominciamento,

(1) Zenker p. 127.

"Sì che lo doti chi à malvascia in core,
 E chi l' à bono, migliori il su' talento.
 Così poria venire a grande onore,
 E a bon fine de lo so regimento;
 Chè, se dal cominciar mostra valore,
 Porase rendere dolce al finimento.
 Ma in te, Amore, vegio lo contraro,
 Sì como quello pien di falisone,
 Ch' al cominciar no mostri fior d'amaro,
 Poi scrupoli tua malvagia openione;
 Qual più ti serve a fe, quel men ài caro,
 Ond' eo t' aprovo per signor felone."

No. XXI. affords an interesting parallel with a Provençal troubadour first noticed by Diez.⁽¹⁾ It is a development of the moth simile, used so far as we know, only by Folquet de Mar-selha in the Provençal. The original comparison is very slight:

"Ab bel semblan que fals' Amors cadutz
 S'atrai vas lieis fols amans e s'atura,
 Co.l parpaillos qu'a tant folla natura
 Que.is fer e.l foc per la clardat qe lutz;"⁽²⁾

In the Notary's sonnet the subject is stated even more tersely, but the application of it is considerably extended, and the figurative vocabulary is kept up till the end, where it terminates in the phoenix simile. In other respects the sonnet is not outstanding. We quote it herewith:

"Sè como' l parpaglion, ch'à tal natura,
 Non si rancura - de ferire al foco,
 M'avete fatto gentil creatura;
 Non date cura - s'eo incendio e coco.
 Venendo a voi lo mio cor s'asigura,

(1) Op. cit. p. 273.

(2) Stronski XI.2.

"Pensando tal chiarura - sia gioco,
 Come 'l zitello, ed oblio l'arsura;
 Mai non trovai ventura - in alcun loco.
 Ciò è lo cor, che non à ciò che brama,
 Se mov' ardendo nela dolce fiamma,
 Rendendolle vita, com' la finise.
 E poi l'amor naturalmente il chiama,
 E l'adorneze che' nspira la fiamma,
 Rendendogle vita com' la finise."

No. XXII. is entirely original in tone, it contains a novel idea skilfully worked out. The sonnet is handled in a masterly style and gives the impression that it is the product of a mature mind. Its clarity is not in any way trammelled by fantastic rhyme schemes nor is its freshness marred by petty conventionalities. It is certainly one of the poems which best bear witness to the advance in literary form which the Notary had instigated. The ancient subject of fire is treated in a new manner with a light and graceful touch:

"Chi non avesse mai veduto foco
 No crederia che cocere potesse;
 Anti li sembraria solazo e gioco
 Lo so isprendore quando lo vedesse.
 Ma s'ello lo tocasse in alcun loco,
 Be-lli senbrara che forte cocesse.
 Quello d'amore m'a tocato un poco;
 Molto me coce. Deo, che s'aprendesse!
 Che s'aprendesse in voi, donna mia!
 Che mi mostrate dar solazo amando,
 E voi mi date pur pen' e tormento.
 E certo l'Amor fa gran vilania,
 Che no distringe te, che vai gabando;
 A me che servo, non dà isbaldimento."

No. XXIII. contains a great number of lapidarian figures.

But the excessive use of these does not appear to me an adequate justification for supposing that the Notary chose them in a desire to produce a poetic form - more particularly does the truth of this strike us, when we realise that in the same sonnet occur the time-worn images of the star and the rose, the idea too that Madonna received her gifts from above is thoroughly Provençal but for the use of "Christo" where the troubadour uses "Deo." This long enumeration of precious stones is wearisome, if the author is striving to create a new manner, he is doing so at the cost of sincerity and grace. Beyond this point, which after all, is a small one, the sonnet excites no comment:

"Diamante, nè smiralda, nè zafino.
 Nè vernul' altra gema preziosa,
 Topaza, nè giaquinto, nè rubino,
 Nè l'aritropia, ch'e sè vertudiosa,
 Nè l'amatista, nè 'l carbonchio fino,
 Lo qual è molto risprendente cosa,
 Non ano tanta beleze in domino,
 Quant' à in sè la mia donna amorosa.
 E di vertute tutte l'autre avanza,
 E somigliante (a stella è) di splendore,
 Cola sua conta e gaia inamoranza;
 E più bell' è che rosa e che frore.
 Cristo le doni vita ed alegranza,
 E sì la cresca in gran pregio ed onore."

No. XXIV. is a poem of a much finer quality and proves that the Notary is at home with the so-called "commonplaces" of the Provençal school. He is at his best in using these figures with which he is familiar, so much so that one is tempted to regard his use of "doctrinal" comparisons as almost a defect. In

the second line of this sonnet he says "più che null' altra gemma presiosa" - surely this is all we require - and as a rule the Provençal troubadour has the good sense to realise it for, we do not find catalogued comparisons in his lyrics. Giacomo da Lentino seems to me to have the true Provençal spirit, and when he says "inviluti sono i scolosmini.....le merze siano astrette... perchè paian gioie nove," he is in reality false to his natural feeling for poetry. The Notary reaches the highest point in literary achievement when he transforms a traditional figure, or when that breath of the "stil nuovo" passes over him, and in this connection let us not forget that the "stil nuovo" spirit and ideal was present in embryo in many a Provençal troubadour. In any case, it will be readily observed that the Notary is not at all consequent, and that his sonnets, far from developing his new theories, are on the whole, in direct opposition to them. From the reader's point of view, the Notary's chief contribution to Italian literature is his masterly handling of the sonnet form. Notice, in the example we are about to quote, how the verse gathers to a climax in l. 10 and then runs down melodiously to its end.

"Madonna à 'n sè vertute con valore
 Più che null' altra gemma presiosa;
 Chè isguardando mi tolse lo core,
 Cotant' è di natura vertudiosa.
 Più luce sua beltate e dà splendore,

"Che non fa' l sole, nè null' altra cosa:
 De tute l'autre elle' è sovran' e frorè,
 Chè nulla aparegiare a lei non osa.
 Di nulla cosa non à mancamento,
 Nè fu, ned è, nè non sarà sua pare,
 Nè 'n cui si trovi tanto complimento.
 E credo ben, se Dio l'avesse a fare,
 Non vi metrebbe sù su' intendimento
 Che la potesse simile formare."

No. XXV. contains only two figures - an adaptation of the seed and fruit figure and a curious reference to Rome.

"In voi è pregio, senno e conoscenza,
 E soferenza, - ch'è somma del bene,
 Como la spene - che fiorisce in grana.
 Come lo nome avete la potenza
 Di dar sentenz' a - chi contra voi vene,
 Sè com' avene - a la Città Romana."

No. XXVI. likewise is non-figurative. It is a curious little homily upon friendship. But it closes with one of those quaint proverbial sentences which we now know so well:

"Be-lli falla pensieri in veritate,
 Chi crede fare d'altrui borsa spese,
 C'omo vivente sofrir nol poria."

This is the last authentic sonnet by Lentino, but one or two of the unauthentic sonnets appended by Langley are very interesting. He draws our attention particularly to XXXI. and XXXVIII.; XXXI. he regards as being a real forecast of the "dolce stil nuovo" and we heartily acquiesce, permitting ourselves to point out, however, by illustration, how strongly this spirit was already

present in Provençal. The first two lines of the sonnet show a remarkable sympathy with these lines by Perdigon:

"E fin' amors no manda ges chاوزir
Comte ni rey, due ni emperador,
Mas fin amic e ses cor trichador,
Franc e leyal, e que.s gart de falhir;"(1)

The Italian is less condensed, and the thinking is more advanced - and this is quite in accordance with the observations we have already made - for example, notice in l.3 "e fa di due voleri una voglienza." The idea of "will" would not have occurred to a Provençal troubadour, nor could he have differentiated between "volere" and "voglienza."

"Fin amor di fin cor ven di valenza,
E discende in altro core semigliante,
E fa di due voleri una voglienza,
La qual è forte più ca lo diamante,
Legandoli con amorosa lenza,
Che nom si rompe nè scioglie l'amante.
E duenque chi sua donna perder penza
Già di fino amador non à sembrante
Chè fino amor non tiene sospeçione,
E nom poria cangiar la sua' ntendenza
Chi sente forza d'amorosa sprone.
E di ciò porta la testimonianza
Tristano ed Isaotto co' ragione,
Che nom partir giamai di loro amanza."

The hardness of the diamond is becoming a familiar comparison, we have also encountered the "amorosa lenza" in the "dolce laccio" of Jacopo Mostacci(2), Tristan and Isolde is a stock ornament.

(1) R. III. p. 344.

(2) Butler p. 14.

No. XXXVII. is very different in style from this suave and polished production. Langley draws our attention to it because of the "crude adaptation of popular metaphor." The popular metaphor concerned is the theory of love passing through the eyes. Unfortunately the poet has telescoped the process, if we might use such an expression, and describes love and his lady running through his eyes and arriving in his heart with a sudden impact, whereupon follows one of the well-known heart dialogues. Might the conjecture be made that this sonnet is a burlesque? Perhaps, it is merely another attempt at originality: whatever may have been the poet's aim, he has certainly succeeded in being sensational.

"Pegli occhi miei una donna ed Amore
 Passar correndo, e giunser nela mente
 Per si gran forza, che l'anima sente
 Andar la donna a riposar nel core.
 Onde dico: 'Senti che' l su' valore
 Non à vertu che gli vaglia neente.'" etc.

In No. XXXVIII. there is another passage of the same type, it deals with the fire of love. A curiously artificial effect is produced by the persistent use of "enjambement."

"Amore, gli occhi di colei me fanno
 Aprender dentr' al cor, se che s'accende
 Una fiamma amorosa; che discende
 A le membra mie angosciose, che stanno
 Vinte e distrutte per paura, ch' anno
 Di questa donna mia, che merze fende; etc."

XXXIX. is a very remarkable poem and one regrets that its authorship is not definitely established. The genesis of it is the odd idea that madonna is desired by the angels. It will be remembered that the latter is a leading feature in the Provençal "planh." The sonnet is the first notable instance of the unconscious blending of religion and love of which we have so often spoken in dealing with troubadour poetry, this equivocal character is enhanced by the fact that the poem begins like a prayer. We expect to find a purely devotional hymn, but we are met with "questa donna" in the third line. Strange to say the poem retains its religious character, reminding one of a Latin hymn in its choice of words. One curious detail of interest might be noted in the fact that the poet uses the word "we," could it be possible that the poem was written on the occasion of a lady's illness or accident? It is an interesting problem and one which we will set forth without further delay.

XXXIX. "Re glorioso, pien d'ogni pietate,
 Non guardate a' prieghi che fanno i santi,
 Nè agli angeli, che vi stanno davanti,
 Che per lor gioi' questa donna chiamate.
 Guardate a noi, che nella sua beltate
 Vediamo amor, là onde siamo amanti,
 E cognosciam per fermo tutti quanti,
 Che in lei è pinta vostra maestate.
 Che vedendo lei benediciamo
 La vostra gran potenza, che ci ha dato
 Di voi esempio per la nostra fede.
 E se voi non ci avessi gran mercede,
 Ciascun di noi morrebbe disperato,
quanto noi amiamo."

11. Giacomino Pugliese.

"Giacomino fu il più nativo, il più vario, il più fresco, il più florido rappresentatne della poesia borghese: a volte sensuale, a volte sentimentale, raramente irretito ne' girigogoli della letteratura cavalleresca, quasi sempre sincero. La canzone "Tuttor la dolze speranza prende l'abbrivo da una galanteria provenzalesca; ma d'improvviso, con chiara agilità di metro e di sentimento, ecco, egli prorompe:

"Donna, se me'n vuoi intendere,
Ver me non far si gran falglia:
Lo mio cor mi degie rendere,
Ch'è distretto in vostra baglia;"(1)

Gasparry commends the poet in a similar fashion: "Almost all the poems which, in the great Vatican collection of the early lyric poets, bear the name of Giacomo Pugliese, are distinguished by a certain popular tone and by a more realistic colouring. In the midst of a love complaint, he turns suddenly to his mistress, with a bold expression of impatience, and asks her to give him back his heart.

'Donna, se me non vuoi intendere,
Ver me non far si gran faglia,
Lo mio cor mi degie rendere....'"(2)

It is interesting that both Cesareo and Gasparry light upon the same quotation.

(1) Cesareo op. cit. p. 354.

(2) Gasparry op. cit. p. 68.

Giacomino Pugliese thus forms a link between the courtly and the popular poetry. Curiously enough, the popular poetry is not, on the whole, figurative. It contains many of the commonplaces of the Provençal lyric but it has not, in turn, supplied the latter with popular metaphor. Perhaps one explanation of the lack of rhetoric conceit in these songs of the people may be found in the fact that many of them are built up on a system of dialogue and quick repartee, which does not permit of sustained figures of speech. The popular lyrics have a highly developed dramatic quality which seems to favour brusque realities. Giacomino Pugliese, then, like the popular poets, does not indulge in metaphoric flights. His figures are all brief and stereotyped, apart from that already quoted one could not say that any one is of a non-Provençal character. Thus we find such expressions as these:-

".....dolce presgione."(1)

"Stella d'albore." (2)

"Se' n mia ballia avesse Spangna e Franza
Noun averei si rica tenuta."(3)

".....fiore di rosa." (4)

"Dea tra le altre
A lo fiore vicino."(5)

".....viva lanza." (6)

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- (1) Monaci p. 89.
 (2) Ibid. p. 90.
 (3) Ibid. p. 90.
 (4) Ibid. p. 91.
 (5) Ibid. p. 92.
 (6) Butler p. 29.

Notice the use of "dea" which is most unusual. In Giacomino Pugliese the expression "in balia" becomes a positive abuse, and is used so frequently that it loses all metaphoric flavour. There is one passing reference to Tristan and Isolde:

"E non credo che Tristano
Isaotta tanto amasse."(1)

From Giacomino Pugliese it is only a short way to popular poets proper - Odo della Colonne, Compagnetto da Prato, Ciullo d'Alcamo etc. But with regard to figures of speech these form a disappointing study. It seems to be impossible to point to any one figure and say that it is popular, rather, as we saw above, have the Provençal commonplaces entered the popular lyric. Thus we find in Odo delle Colonne the familiar expression:

"Di te, oi vita mea,
Mi tengno più pagata
Ca ss' io avesse im ballia
Lo monddo a sengnorata."(2)

A precious stone figure follows:

"Poi saccio c'a me vene
Lo viso del cristallo,
E sarò fuor di pene
Ed avrò alegreza e gallo."(3)

In the poem "Distretto core ed amoroso" we find:

"Ed io com 'auro im blanza

(1) Carducci p. 11.

(2) Monaci p. 75.

(3) Ibid. p. 76.

"Vi son leale, sovrana
 Fiore d'ogni cristiana,
 Per cui lo mi core s'inavanza."(1)

The expression "d'ogni cristiana" is the only original touch.

In the poem by Compagnetto da Prato, "L'amore fa una donna amare," there is a mention of the god of love:

"Dio d'amore, quello per cui m'ài
 Comquisa, di llui m'ajuta."(2)

There occurs later a figure which seems quite an original comparison, but one which would hardly be dubbed popular:

"Drudo mio, aulente più c'ambra,"(3)

The anonymous poem "Mortte fera e dispietata" contains the familiar figure of light. The dead lady is like a light which is now spent.

"Che spint' ài la chiara lucie
 Che risplendea, ora non lucie."(4)

The following lines, however, contain two interesting and novel figures:

"Di belleze era portto e focie
 E d'adorneze l'angelica bocie. (voce)(5)

These last figures certainly have nothing in common with the

(1) Monaci p. 76.

(2) Ibid. p. 94.

(3) Ibid. p. 94.

(4) Ibid. p. 95.

(5) Ibid. p. 95.

conceits of the Provençal lyric, they are original, and though somewhat bizarre, they are nevertheless very effective. In line 21 we encounter once more the "fire" figure:

"Tolto m'ài lo sollazo e l gioco
Sì che melglio in esso loco
Mi teria m'avesse alocato,
Im pungiente foco lasciato.
In gran foco, mortte e dura,
In tristanza m'ài lasciato; etc."(1)

The poem of "L'altrieri fui in parlamento" affords one good example of the popular spirit:

"Merzé ti chero, or m'ajuta,
Che tu se' in terra il mi dio:"(2)

The dramatic bluntness of this remark with its display of uncontrolled feeling, is typically popular.

"L'amoroso comfortto e lo disdotto" contains two figures. One from the romance of Piramus and Thisbe, and one of a realistic type which might be compared to a passage in *Perdigon* describing a judicial combat:

"Non mi degia fallire la più cortese,
Nè mettere in dottanza lo suo core,
Che Tisbia per Prima s'è s'aucise
E lasciarsi perire per amore.
.....
Nom so se mi comforti o mi disperì,
Poi ch'amore non mi lascia disperare.
Che molte volte ò visto due guerrieri
Tornare im pacie e lgli amici guerriere."(3)

(1) Monaci p. 96.

(2) Ibid. p. 97.

(3) Ibid. p. 99.

I admit that the resemblance to Perdigon's figure is so slight as to be almost negligible, but this is the only occurrence of the simile which we have yet encountered in Italian. The Provençal is as follows:

"Aissi cun selh qu'a batalha remida,
Que sap de plan sa razos es delida,
Quant es en cort on hom dreg no' l cossen,
Et ab tot so se combat eyssamen,
Me combat ieu en cort e no m ten. pro,
Que amors m'a forsjugjat no sai quo."(1)

The poem "Quando la prima vera" contains the star and flower figures and an interesting reference to Morgana.

"Spera, che m'ai preso
Di servire l'avenente,
Quella col chiaro viso,
Alta stella luciente,
Flore sovr' ongne sovrana,
Conta e gaja ed adorna,
In chui l'amore soggiorna,
Tu c'avanzi Morgana,
Merzè, che m'ai conquiso."(2)

This is the first reference to "Morgan le Fay" although references to the Arthurian romances are not, on the whole, infrequent.

In the "Rosa aulente"(3) there are a few figures, but none of these are developed, they remain mere suggestive comparisons, all are in the true Provençal tradition, with the exception of one slight reference. In ll. 9 - 10 the poet says:

"Se tu non mi doni comfortto ned ajuto,
Perdoci le persone, come l'omo ch'è 'mpenduto."(4)

(1) Raynouard III., p. 349.

(2) Monaci p. 99.

(3) Ibid, p. 100.

(4) Ibid. p. 100.

This comparison may safely be termed popular, because, in the first place, it has never appeared in courtly love poetry, in the second place it is a figure which must have been more real to the people than to the governing classes. As the merchant or the strolling minstrel walked past the gallows this thought always suggested itself:

"Ces pendus, du diable entendus
Appellent d'autres pendus encore."

The other figures are quite familiar and run as follows:

"Per chui vivo più punsivo
Cha per Dio romita;"(1)

With this we may compare a passage in Peire Vidal.

"Per aital sospeisso
Fetz de mi pelegri,
Qu'anc romeus d'orazo
Mais tan forsatz no fo."(2)

"Tu se' più piagiente, aulente fiore rosato,
Che nonn è il sole lugiante da la matina,
poi ch'è levato.
Fiore e folglia la tua volglia,
Per dio l'umilia; etc."(3)

"La tua lucie, che rilucie
Sovr' ongn' altro splendore,
Già consuma me ch' aluma,
Sè mi stringie amore."(4)

These last two passages are typically Provencal in spirit but

(1) Monaci p. 100.

(2) Anglade p. 63.

(3) Monaci p. 100.

(4) Ibid. p. 101.

in technique are greatly inferior to the typical troubadour lyric.

Another poem of popular origin is the anonymous "Di dol mi convien cantare," the "oimé: tapino" establishes its nature at the outset. "Tapino" and "tapinello" are words which the popular minstrels readily employ, and which, strange to say, never occur in polished lyrical verse. The first figure is a curiously garbled version of Provençal metaphor:

"De la rosa fronzuta
Diventerò pellegrino,
Ch'io l'agio perduta."(1)

The expression "bon porto" occurs in stanza IV. to remind us of Provençal influence again; and in stanza V. we find another figure that can be placed in the same category:

"Si ardent' è lo foco....
Che m'arde in fra lo core."(2)

Stanza V. is very typical of the "mal maritata" type of composition. The speaker is a prisoner - but she cares little for "key or bolt" - so much so that her husband warns every member of the house to guard her prison well in case she should escape!

The next popular poem to engage our attention is the much-discussed "Rosa fresca aulentissima" by the hypothetical Cielo dal Camo. From the point of view of figurative language the

(1) Carducci p. 14.

(2) Ibid. p. 14.

poem is particularly important, because it is more frankly popular in diction, form and subject-matter than any others encountered. The figures number only six in all, although the poem contains a hundred and sixty lines, and of this number, only two, occurring together, could be termed popular. The passage in which they appear is somewhat confused. It opens with a curiously effective metaphorical saying - "I have made bridges and stairs of your words" says the lover. Then comes a line which might conceivably be a reference to the fable of the jay in borrowed plumes, or some other tale of a similar nature, finally there comes the "bolta sotana" which Butler regards as a wrestling term meaning a turn or twist from below. These lines seem to me an excellent example of realistic, unpolished and inartistic metaphor huddled together without care for form or effect. They are typical of the rapid diction and swift interchange of banter which the dramatic quality of the popular lyric demanded. As we previously had reason to note, these figurative passages are not common in popular poetry, and when we examine their substance we find that their popular character is determined, not by the choice of figure, but by the way in which it is handled. A Provençal troubadour might easily have used such an expression as "bolta sotana," because homely comparisons were frequently chosen by the exponents of courtly love, but he would have treated the figure in an artistic manner. Far from scorning popu-

lar metaphor, courtly love poetry had already made the best possible use of it, and thus it is quite erroneous to imagine that such poems as the "Rosa fresca" influenced the poetic diction of the Sicilian "Provençal" school. For example, the expression "lo (il) pescie a l'amo" occurs in this very poem. The same expression occurs likewise in a poem by Percivalle Doria⁽¹⁾ what could be easier than to suppose a mutual influence? But the figure was used long years before by Bernart de Ventadorn one of the greatest writers of courtly love poetry:

"Aissi co.l peis qui s'estaiss ' el cadorn
E no sap re tro que s'es pres en l'ama,
M' eslaissei eu vas trop amar em jorn, etc."⁽²⁾

The only difference is one of treatment, Bernart de Ventadorn is an artist.

Thus, just the contrary has happened, to what one might reasonably have supposed. Instead of popular poetry influencing courtly love poetry, the former has absorbed numerous Provençal conceits. This phenomenon was very strikingly shown in the previous poem "Rosa aulente." Returning to the matter at issue, we shall first quote the passage discussed, then the remaining figures as they occur in the text, making comment where necessary:

1. "Di ciò che dici, vitama, ne jénte non ti bale;
Ca de le tuo' parabole fatto n'ò ponti e scale:

(1) Monaci p. 80

(2) Barstch p. 62.

"Penne penzasti metere, sonoti cadute l'ale,
E dato t' ajo la bolta sotana:
Dunque, se poi, teniti villana."(1)

2. "Se tanto avere donassemi quanto à lo Saladino
E per ajunta quant' à lo soldano,
Tocareme nom poterìa la mano."(2)

3. "Se vento è im proda egirasi, e giungieti à le prai,
Arimembrare t'à este parole,
Ca d'esta animella assai mi dole."(3)

This is a crude adaptation of the courtly sea metaphors.

4. "Sè m'ai preso come lo pescie a l'amo."(4)

The "Rosa fresca" brings us to the end of what may be termed the first period of the Sicilian school, embracing those poets contemporary with Federigo II. The second period embraces a smaller group of poets - those contemporary with Enzo. But it must be borne in mind that dates are very often merely conjectural, and a poet whom we have placed in the second group might conceivably have belonged to the first.

Rinaldo d'Aquino was presumably that Rinaldo who succeeded in kidnapping his younger brother Thomas in 1241. At the same time Monaci will not commit himself to say whether the famous crusading song refers to the crusade of 1228 or that of 1240, while declaring that we may probably regard the poet as identical with the viceroy of Manfred in Otranto and Bari, appointed

(1) Monaci p. 107.

(2) Ibid. p. 106.

(3) Ibid. p. 108.

(4) Ibid. p. 109.

in 1257; he appends "Da varie rubriche dei più antichi canzonieri si vede che egli ebbe corrispondenza poetica con Giacomo da Lentino, Ruggeri d'Amici, Tiberto Galliziani e con Federigo II." Cesareo is at pains to prove that the crusading song was written for the year 1228, and indeed, considerable confusion prevails as to the life and identity of the poet. Torraca believes that he lived till 1277.

The very beautiful and familiar crusading song "Già mai non mi confortto" does not contain any figures. The other poems contain a fair number, and these are all Provençal in character.

"Amorosa donna finà,
 Istella che levi la dia
 Sembrano le vostre belleze.
 Sovrana fiore di Messina,
 Nom pare che donna sia
 Vostra para d'adorneze.
 Or dunqua nonn è maravilglia
 Se fiamma d'amore m'apilglia
 Guardando lo vostro viso,
 Che l'amore m'infiamma in foco.(1)

.....

E quello bascio m'infiamao,
 Che dal corppo mi levao
 Lo core e diello a voi.
 Degiate provvedere:
 Che vita po l'omo avere,
 Se lo core non è co lui?
 Lo mio core nonn è co meco,
 Ched io tuto lo v'ò dato,
 Ed io ne sono rimaso im pene:
 Di sospiri mi notrico,

.....

(1) Monaci p. 83.

"Altrui aucidete che meve,
 Che m'avete im foco miso
 Che d'ongne parte m'aluma.
 Tuto esto mondo è di meve,
 Di tale foco so raceso
 Che me ne consuma,
 E con foco che non pare,
 Che la neve fa' llumare,
 Ed inciando tra llo chiaccio.
 Quell' è lo foco d'amore,
 Ch' arde lo fino amadore
 Quando e' nonn à sollaccio."(1)

Rinaldo d'Aquino has given us a long list of somewhat arid Provençal commonplaces, but he is not always so unfortunate in his choice. For example, in the poem "Ormai quando flore," he has handled the May morning prelude with real poetic instinct. The familiar scene is rendered as freshly and vividly as if it were appearing for the first time. The description of the birds is particularly attractive and the idea that they are conducting a "tenzone" is original and pleasing.

"Confortami d'amare l'aulimento dei fiori
 E l canto de li auselli;
 Quando lo giorno appare sento li dolci amori
 E li versi novelli
 Ke fan sì dolci e belli e divisati
 Lor trovati a provasione,
 A gran tenzone stan per li arbuscelli."(2)

It has become a familiar phenomenon to find the poet giving expression to his doubts and hesitations by means of an imaginary conversation between himself and his heart. Thus Giacomo da

(1) Monaci p. 84.

(2) Ibid. pp. 84 - 5.

Lentino says "Così bella / si favella / lo mi' core con meco."

In the poem under discussion, this conceit has undergone a curious change, Rinaldo speaks as if he possessed two hearts -

".....l'un cor mi dice
Ke si disdice, e l'altro m'incora."(1)

A few lines below we find:

"Però prego l'amore ke m'intenda e mi svollia
Come la follia lo vento,"

This reminds us of the well-known comparison in Bernart de Ventadorn:

"Qu' eissamen trembli de paor
Cum fa la fuelha contra 'l ven:"(2)

The poem "Per fino amore" again brings us to the realm of wearisome commonplaces. We encounter once more the figures of feudalism:

"E paremi ke falli malamente
Omo k'à ricieputo
Ben da sengnore e poi lo vol ciellare."(3)

.....

"Ki fa del suo servire dipartire
Quelli k'asai c'è stato
Senza mal fare, mal fa sengnoragio."(4)

The lady is once more:

(1) Monaci p. 85.

(2) R. III. p.

(3) Monaci p. 85.

(4) Ibid. p. 86.

"La fiore di tucta canoscienza."(1)

It is interesting, however, to remember, that the first line of the poem is quoted twice by Dante - in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* I. 12. as an example of the use of "verba curialiora" by an Apulian, and in II. 5. as an instance of the correct opening of a canzone with a hendecasyllabic line. The poem "In' gioi' mi tengo tutta la mia pena," contains a reference to Paris and Helen:

"Sè com Parisgi quando amava Elena,
Così fac' io membrando per ongnura,"(2)

The same poem contains another feudal figure:

"Non mente a quelli che son suoi,
Anzi li dona gioi'
Come fa buon signore a suo servente."(3)

The poem "Guiderdone aspetto avire" is richer in figures of speech, and the figures are more highly developed. The first stanza contains a piece of very shrewd bourgeois philosophy:

"Non vivo in disperanza,
Ancor che mi diffidi
La vostra disdegnanza;
Cà spese volte vidi, ed è provato,
Ch'omo di poco affare
Per venire in gran loco,
S'ello sape avanzare,
Moltiplica lo poco conquistato."(4)

The second stanza contains the now familiar figure of the wild

(1) Monaci p. 85.

(2) Butler p. 22.

(3) " p. 22.

(4) Carducci p. 4.

man:

"Si com' omo salvagio
Faragio, com' è detto ch' ello face:
Per lo reo tempo ride,
Sperando che poi pèra
Lo laido aire che vide:
Da donna troppo fera spero pace."(1)

In stanza III. there is another bourgeois platitude:

"Cà donna c' ha belleze
Ed è senza pietade,
Com' omo è, c' ha richeze
E usa scarsitade di ciò ch' ave:"(2)

At the same time we must remember that remarks of this kind were common enough in Provençal troubadour poetry. In the last stanza occurs an interesting use of the word "spirito," showing that the ideas of Averrhoism are beginning to filter into the poetry.

"Lo spirito mi manca e torna in ghiaccio."(3)

Unfortunately this last poem is one of disputed identity, being attributed to Giacomo da Lentino by the Cod. Vat. Lat. 3793, III., and the Cod. Chigiano LVIII., 305, n. 230. It is thus impossible to draw any conclusions from its contents. Judging by the fuller development of the figures, the work should be attributed rather to the Notary.

(1) Carducci p. 4.

(2) Ibid. p. 5.

(3) Ibid. p. 5.

In conclusion then, it is hardly necessary to point out, that apart from the crusading song, the poems of Rinaldo d'Aquino are not in any respect outstanding.

Enzo re di Sardegna.

Enzo re di Sardegna was a natural son of Federigo II. Through his wife Adelasia di Torres he obtained his title, an enemy of the church and the Guelfs he became imperial vicar of Lombardy and was taken prisoner by the Bolognese in 1249. He spent the last thirty years of his life in prison. Of the two poems attributed to him, "S'eo trovasse Pietanza" is the more important. It is the first poem in the vernacular to make use of abstract personifications. The frequent references to "Merzede" and "Pietanza" remind one forcibly of Marcabru's style of writing:

"Proeza .s franh e Avoleza .s mura
E no vol Joi cuillir dinz sa clauzura;"(1)

In the third stanza there are two very original touches, an allusion, unique of its kind, to the restlessness of the waves, and a dramatic call to the poet's heart to leave his body - the latter recalls the familiar expression in Giacomino Pugliese - "Lo mio cor mi degie rendere."

"Non ho giorna di posa,
Come nel mare l'onda.

(1) Déjeanne IX.6.

"Core, che non ti smembri?
Esci di pena, e dal corpo ti parte."(1)

But the fourth stanza brings us material of an even more striking character. The "thoughts" and "spirits" play as prominent a part as in any lyric of the "dolce stil nuovo," and the whole passage bears a striking resemblance to the Vita Nuova of Dante:

"Tutti quei pensamenti
Che miei spirti divisa
Sono pene e dolore
Sanz' allegrar, che no li si accompagna;
Ed in tanti tormenti
Abondo in mala guisa,
Che' l natural colore
Tutto perdo, sè il core isbatte e lagna.
Or si po dir da manti
'Che è ciò? perchè non more,
Poi che 'nsagnato ha' l core?'
Rispondo 'chi lo 'nsagna
In quel momento stagna,
Non per mio ben, ma proba sua vertute.'"(2)

It is interesting to compare with this the prose passage IV. of the "Vita Nuova." "Da questa visione innanzi cominciò lo mio spirito naturale ad essere impedito ne la sua operazione, però che l'anima era tutta data nel pensare di questa gentilissima; onde io divenni in picciolo tempo poi di sì fraile e debole condizione, che a molti amici pesava della mia vista." etc., and also the sonnet in section XIII.:

"Tutti li miei penser parlan d' Amore;"

(1) Carducci p. 33.

(2) Ibid. p. 33.

It is just this new quasi-scientific treatment of love which introduces a change in the tone of lyrical poetry. The influence of scholasticism is producing a very specialised form of psychology, destined to develop into the philosophical treatment of love in a later movement. The tendency is strengthened by the fact that the Italians are more reflective and more given to mental analysis than the Provençal troubadours - we had occasion to note this in dealing with the Italian troubadours. Guido delle Colonne judge of Messina is reputed to be that Guido who wrote a history of the fall of Troy. Various legends have gathered about his name, and doubts have been frequently cast upon his identity. A full discussion of available evidence is carried out by Cesareo⁽¹⁾. The strongest argument in favour of Guido the poet being one with Guido the judge, lies of course in the fact that Dante makes no differentiation. In this connection Butler states: "It is strange that Dante, who refers to this poem⁽²⁾ twice in V.E., in one place (II.4) naming the author, should not have indicated that the "Judex Guido" to whom he ascribes it was not the famous veteran of letters, who had been for over twenty years his contemporary, and with whom the name would have been chiefly associated by his readers."⁽³⁾

The figures of speech in the poems by this author are more varied in tone, and a greater amount of material is available. In the poem referred to above by Butler we find a meta-

(1) Op. cit. p. 149.

(2) "Amor, che lungiamente m' ài menato."

(3) Butler, op. cit. p. 180.

-phor at the very beginning:

"Amor, che lungamente m'à' menato
A freno stretto sença riposança,"(1)

This might be compared with that of Peire Vidal:

"Mas d'aquest me trenchet lo fres,
Quan ma bela donna .m promes etc."(2)

Metaphors of this type are not uncommon. A few lines later we come upon a more unusual comparison:

".....madonna, a cui porto liança
Più ke no fa assessino a suo ciutato,
Ke si lascia morire per sua credença.
.....
O dolce ciera con guardi soavi,
Più bella d'altra ke sia in vostra terra,
Trajete lo meo core ormai di guerra,
Ke per voi erra e gran travallia n'ave;
Ka sà gran travi poco ferro serra
E pogo plogio grande vento aterra."(3)

Passages of this kind afford abundant proof of the independent spirit of the Sicilian poets. They were never slavish imitators of the Provençals as Cesareo has so ably demonstrated.

The above passage is so Provençal in style that it might well have come from the pen of a Limousin - but at the same time it is original. The last two lines are particularly reminiscent of the Provençal adage, but I do not know that these exact terms have been used before, the form is old but the content new.

(1) Monaci p. 218.

(2) Anglade p. 81.

(3) Monaci p. 219.

Thus Sicilian poetry is rarely monotonous or artificial, and in this respect it upholds the tradition of the troubadour school.

The same is true of the next figure in the same poem:

"Però non dotto ch' amor non vi smova;
Saggio guerrieri vince guerra e prova." (1)

The confidence that patience will win the day is an inherited trait, but the "saggio guerrieri" is Guido's individual and personal mark. In l. 36 we find a sun-figure - the sun is high in the heavens:

"Lo sol sta alto e si face lumera
E viva quanto più in alto ha a passare.
Vostro orgogliare donqua e vostra altezza
Mi faccian prode e tornino in dolcezza." (2)

When the poet leaves the realm of rhetoric conceit, however, his inspiration fails. The following passage is a medley of Marcabru, Guillaume le Duc and Peire Vidal, it contains the familiar theories concerning love. But notice that the two figures at the end of the passage introduce a poetic and original touch:

"Amor può disviare gli più saggi,
E chi troppo ama a pena ha in sè misura;
Più folle è quello che più s'innamora.
Amor non cura di far suoi dannaggi,
Ché li coraggi mette in tal calura
Che non puon rifieddar già per freddura;
Gli occhi e lo core sono lor messaggi
De' suoi incominciamenti per natura.
Però madonna, gli occhi e lo meo core

(1) Monaci p. 219.

(2) Ibid. p. 220.

"Havete in vostro mani entro e di fore;
 Ch' amor mi sbatte e smena, che no abento
 Si come vento smena nave in onda:
 Voi siete meo pennel che non affonda."(21)

The "nave in onda" is a familiar comparison, the "pennel" is novel; presumably the word indicares the pennon of a lance.

The poem "Ancor che l'aigua" is mentioned by Dante(2) as an example of the work of the Sicilian school, it is regarded by Butler as being of considerable literary importance. He says: "The poem, which was written probably not before 1250, at which date the author might have been about thirty years old, shows a distinct change from the earliest school. The diction is easier and more finished, and there is a kind of attempt to find somewhat far-fetched parallels from natural objects, and work them out elaborately, and a sententious tone very different from the light-hearted way in which the earlier people throw in salamanders, panthers and heroes of romance. Also the diction is graver and more sententious and the stanza longer. We are on the road to Guittone and Guido Cavalcanti." True, as this statement may, no doubt, be, it is important to remember that "far-fetched parallels" from natural objects" are to be met with in early authors of the Sicilian school e.g. Giacomo da Lentino

"Sicome il sol che manda la sua spera
 E passa per lo vetro e no lo parte, etc."(3)

(1) Monaci p. 220.

(2) V.E.I.12.

(3) Langley X.

and also in the Provençal school, e.g. Vidal:

"Aissi com cel qui bada .l veïrial,
Que .l sembla bela contra la resplandor,
Quant eu l'esgar, n'ai al cor tal doussor
Qu'eu m'an oblit per leis qu'en vei aital."(1)

and Folquet de Marselha:

"Quar, si be. us etz grans, eissamen
Podetz en me caber leumen
Quo .s devezis una grans tors
En un pauc miralh, e.il largors
Es i tan grans que, si .us plagues,
Enquer neys y caubra merces."(2)

The use of figures of this type certainly shows a "rapprochement" to the school of Guittone d'Arezzo, but I do not know that it establishes a "distinct change" from the manner of the early Sicilians. The opening figure of the poem in question is very like those quoted above, it is a quasi-scientific figure and "not devoid of ingenuity" as Butler says.(3)

"Ancor che ll'aigua per lo focho lasse
La sua grande freddura, non cangerea natura
S'alcun vazello in mezzo non vi stasse;
Ansi averrea senza lungha dimora
Che lo foco astutasse o che l'aigua seccasse,
Ma per lo mezzo l'uno e l'autro dura.
Cusi, gentil criatura, in me à mostrato amore
L'ardente suo valore;
Che senza amore er' aigua fredda e ghiaccia,
Ma amor m'à allumato di fiamma che m'n' abbraccia,
Ch'eo fora consummato se voi, donna sovrana,
Non fustici mezzana infra l'amore e meve,
Che fa lo foco nascere di neve."(4)

(1) Anglade p. 56.

(2) Stronski p. 43.

(3) Butler op. cit. p. 180.

(4) Monaci p. 221.

Fire coming from snow is a figure of alchemy with which we are well acquainted. In l. 17 however, we come upon a passage of quite another order. An important advance may be noted in the fact that the poet terms love "un spirito d'ardore." The word "spirito," as we have had previous reason to note, is becoming popular in an ever-increasing degree. The use of it in l. 17 marks a new stage in the growth of Guido's art, he has abandoned the trite commonplaces with which he edified us in the foregoing poem.

"Amor è uno spirito d'ardore
 Che non si po vedere, ma sol per li sospire
 Si fa sentire in quel ch'è amadore.
 Cusì, donna d'amore, lo meo gran sospirare
 Vi porea certa fare
 De l'amoroza flamma und' eo so involto."(1)

Guido delle Colonne takes pride in using this new science which he has acquired, at intervals in the poem we find such expressions as these:

1. "Lo spirito che manca
 Pensando, donna, le vostre beltate."
2. "Eo non credo sia quel ch'avia
 Lo spirito che porto;"
3. "Lo spirito ch'i aggio, und' eo mi sporto,
 Credo lo vostro sia,"
4. ".....diedermi nascozo
 Uno spirito amorozo."

(1) Monaci p. 221.

This recurrence of "spirito" seems to me a more important change than the use of doctrinal figures. The last figure is a very quaint and full treatment of the lodestone comparison:

"La calamità, contano i saccienti,
 Che trare non poria lo ferro per maestria
 Se uno che ll' aire in mezzo lel consenti;
 Ancor che calamita petra sia,
 L'altre petre neenti non son cusì potenti
 A ttrajir, perchè non m'ano baillia
 Così, madonna mia, l'amor s'è apperceputo
 Che non m'avria potuto
 Traer a ssé, se nnon fusse per voi."(1)

Notice the use of "baillia." The word is now severed from its original context and has become crystallised and generalised metaphor.

The poem "Poi non mi val mercè nè ben servire" contains only one figure at the end - a true Provençal commonplace:

"Non agio abento, tanto 'l cor mi lanza,
 Co li riguardi degli occhi ridente."(2)

The following poem, "Gioiosamente canto," is thoroughly Provençal in spirit, and in treatment it is graceful and pleasing. Its literary merit is greater than that of any other poem by the Judge. The second stanza seems almost worthy of Arnaut de Mareuil, it has the same freshness and the same jocund lilt:

"Ben passa rosa e fiore
 La vostra fresca cera

(1) Monaci p. 223.

(2) Butler p. 42.

"Luciente più che spera,
 E la bocca aulitosa
 Più rende aulente aulore
 Che non fa una fera
 C'a nome la pantera,
 Che'n India nasce ed usa.
 Sovra ogn' altr' amorusa mi parete
 Fontana, che m'à tolta ognunque sete,
 Perch' io son vostro più leale e fino
 Che non è al suo singnore l'assessino."(1)

Butler sees in the last line a reference to the old Man of the Mountains and his assassins.(2) The "fountain figure" is pleasing and novel, its introduction here shows an artistic sense which is rarely encountered, the poet is preparing our minds for a full development in the succeeding stanza. In Provençal the words "fons" and "fontana" do occur, but they never attain the dignity of sustained comparison. The Virgin Mary is very often termed "fount of goodness," and we are all familiar with the line from Jaufré Rudel's first poem:

"Quan lo rius de la fontana
 S'esclarzis, si cum far sol,"(3)

Nothing, however, could be found to bear comparison with the Judge's simile:

(1) Butler p. 42.

(2) This tale enjoys a considerable popularity with the Sicilians, I know of only one instance of its use in Provençal -

"Car mielhs m'avetz, ses duptansa,
 Qu'el Vielhs ansessi la gen
 Que van neys si era part Fransa,
 Tan li son obedien
 Aucire sos guerriers mortals."

(Aimeric de Peguilhan, R.V.p.10.)

(3) Jeanroy p. 1.

"Come fontana piena,
 Che spande tutta quanta,
 Così lo mio cor canta
 Sì fortemente e abonda
 De la gran gioia che mena,
 Per voi, madonna, tanta
 Ch'è ciertamente tanta;
 Non è dove s'asconda,
 E più c'augello in fronda son gioioso,
 E ben posso cantar più amoroso
 Che non canta giamai null' altro amante,
 Uso di bene amare ò trapassante."(1)

The last stanza is typical of all early Provençal lyrics and invites no comment:

"La vostra gran beltate
 M'à fatto, donna, amare,
 E lo vostro ben fare
 M'à fatto cantadore;
 Ca s'eo canto la state
 Quando la fiore appare,
 Nom poria ubriare
 Cantar a la fredore.
 Così mi tiene amore lo cor gaudente,
 Che voi sete la mia donna valente;
 Sollazzo e gioco mai non vene mino,
 Così v'adoro come servo inchino."(2)

Mazzeo di Ricco is a shadowy figure about whom practically nothing is known. Monaci states: "si può tuttavia ritenere di sicuro che fu contemporaneo di Guittone d'Arezzo, e non di Giacomo da Lentino, poichè a lui Guittone dirisse la canzone che nel cod. Vat. 3793 va sotto il n° 146."(3)

The poem "Lo grande valore e lo presgio amoroso" contains no outstanding figures. In l. 3 we find the "amoroso foco,"

(1) Butler p. 43.

(2) Ibid. pp. 43 - 44.

(3) Crestomazia p. 216.

followed by rather a vague and pointless comparison:

"Che mi dispera e fami pauroso,
Com om ca di nejente
Volesses pervenire in alto loco."(1)

Continuing, he says that love gives him fear, but one thing reassures him:

".....questo m'assicura
Ca dentro l'agua nasce foco arzente,
E pare contro natura."(2)

which remains a common doctrinal figure. L. 29 contains the lodestone comparison:

".....Come fa la calamità
Quando l'agulglia tira per natura."(3)

and finally the famous snow-crystal figure makes its bow:

"Ché lo cristallo, poi ch'è bene cielato,
Non poi avere speranza
Ch'ello pòtesse neve ritornare."(4)

"Sei anni ò travagliato" - another poem by this author, contains material which is infinitely superior in quality. The figures are original, well-developed and somewhat striking.(5) In stanza 1 there is a description of the child who tries to seize the sun's image in the water or touches the candle-flame, crying and running off at the sensation of heat. It is possi-

(1) Monaci p. 216.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid. p. 217.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Butler is probably right in his conjecture that this is an early work.

ble that these figures may have existed in classical poetry, they may occur in the "florilèges" of Publius Syrus, they may even exist in fable form, but up to the present I have encountered no kindred example, and thus we may, for the moment, credit Mazeo di Ricco with having evolved the comparisons:

"Ben mi menò follia
 Di fantin veramente,
 Che crede fermamente
 Pigliar lo sol nell' acqua splendente,
 E stringere si crede lo splendore
 Della candela ardente;
 Ond' ello immantenente
 Si parte e piange, sentendo l'ardore."(1)

The second stanza presents equally interesting characteristics. The well-known figure of sickness and health is looked at from a new point of view - the ease with which suffering is forgotten. Immediately following upon this comparison is a passage which is somewhat technical - a curious phenomenon in courtly love poetry. It contains a parallel from jewellery and one from stained glass. The "assetamenti" are the facets or cuttings of the stone, and presumably represent here, the lady's features. Although the conceits are unusual, they are not "far-fetched" and the stanza is not stilted as many doctrinal verses are.

"S'eo tardi mi son adato
 De lo meo follegiare,
 Tengnomene beato,
 Poc ch'io sono a lasciare

(1) Butler p. 46.

"Lo mal che mi stringia;
 Chè l'omo ch'è malato,
 Poichè torna in sanare,
 Lo male c'ha passato
 E lo gran travagliare
 Tutto mette in obria.
 Oï lasso, ch'io credia,
 Donna, perfettamente
 Che vostri assetamenti
 Passassero giacinti stralucanti;
 Or veggio bene che' l vostro colore
 Di vetro è fermamente,
 Che fanno sagiamente
 Li mastri contrafare allo lavore."(1)

The lady, in short, is but a sham stone.

Stanza III. contains the first gaming figure we have encountered in Italian and is thus worthy of our attention. It is akin to the corresponding Provençal type and is not so highly developed as many of the latter.

"Isperanza m'ha 'nganato,
 E fatto tanto errare,
 Com' omo c'ha giucato
 E crede guadagnare
 E perde ciò c'avìa.
 Or veggio ch'è provato
 Ciò c'audio contare,
 C'assai à guadagnato
 Chi si fa s compagnare
 Da mala compagnia."(2)

The Italian appends a very apt moral remark to his simile and one cannot but admire the terse concision with which it is expressed. Reflexions of such a nature are becoming evidently more frequent, due probably to the fact that the poetry had

(1) Butler p. 46.

(2) Ibid. p. 47.

changed hands. The figure of the gambler may be compared to the following Provençal figure of Folquet de Marselha:

"Sitot mi soi a tart aperceubutz,
Aissi cum cel qu'a tot perdut e jura
Que mais non joc etc."(1)

That of Aimeric de Peguilhan - "Atressi mi pren com fai al jog-nador," is probably the best of the series, its literary value is, of course, infinitely greater. The last parallel in the poem is that of the man who lends his substance unwisely. It is very nearly allied to the moral homily device, reminding one at the same time of the scriptural parallel.

"A meve adivenia
Como avene sovente,
Ch' impronta buonamente
Lo suo a mal debitor e scanoscente;
Imperciò ch'è malvagio pagatore
Vacì omo spessamente
E nom può aver neiente,
Ond' a la fine ne fa richiamore."(2)

In conclusion, one can only repeat that the variety and freshness of the figures encountered is equally remarkable in Provençal and Italian.

The next poet who uses figures to any great extent is Stefano da Messino. Again, there is little known of the poet beyond his name. He is referred to as "Notaro" and it is always believed that he is to be identified with the "Stefanus de

(1) Stronski p. 52.

(2) Butler p. 47.

Messana" who translated into Latin "Flores de secretis astrologie divi Hermetis," dedicated to king Manfred.

The poem "Asay me placheria" is a long catalogue of figures gathered together with very little care for artistic arrangement. The opening lines of the poem contain the well-worn idea of the good servant. If love had the power to hear and understand the poet would remind him that long service makes a perfect servant:

"Asay me placheria se ço fosse che amore
Avesse in sé sentore di entendre e d'audire;
Ch'eo li remembraria cum om fa servitore
Perfetto a suo signore per luntano servire."(1)

In l. 10 we find the familiar combination of the sway of love and the suppressed Peleus' lance allusion.

"Amor senpre mi vede et àme en suo podire,
M'eo non posso vedere sua propria figura.
E so ben di tal fede che, s'amor po ferire,
Che ben puote guarire secondo sua natura."

In l. 14 we find the comparison of the stag at bay:

"E ço è che m' asecura,
Perch' eo mi dono a la sua voluntade,
Come cervo cacato più fiade,
Che, quanto l'omo li crida plu forte,
Torna en ver luy non dubitando morte."

This figure reminds one forcibly of the fox simile in Peire Vidal's poem. It runs thus:

(1) Monaci p. 212.

"Aissi m'en mi gitatz a no m'en cal
 Com lo volpilhs que s'oblid' a fugir,
 Que no s'auza tornar ni .s pot gandar,
 Quan l'encausson sei enemie mortal."(1)

But we may feel justified in seeing a real resemblance to Stefano's comparison, in a poem by Richard Barbézieux. The closing lines of this piece are as follows:

"Mielhs - de - Dona, que fugit ai dos ans,
 Er torn a vos doloiros e plorans,
 Aissi quo.l sers, que, quant a fag son cors,
 Torna morir al crit dels cassadors,
 Aissi torn im, domna, en vostra merce;
 Mas vos no.n cal, si d'amor no.us sove."(2)

This parallel is not a sufficiently common one for us to claim that it is "senza impronta speciale, di quelle (figure) che sono di nessuno e di tutti," on the contrary it is of rare occurrence, and we may suggest with a certain feeling of conviction that Stefano da Messino read it in the poem of Barbézieux.

Curiously enough, the poet passes from the stag simile to bestiariaral comparisons, he mentions the unicorn, and the basilisk. This is interesting because it strengthens our conviction that Stefano da Messina was acquainted with the poems of Richard Barbézieux, however, we must admit that the canzone which contains the stag simile has no mention of unicorn or bazalisk, it contains the "orifans" figure.

(1) Anglade p. 78.

(2) Lommatsch p. 70.

"Non deveria dotare d'amor veracement,
 Poi leal ubidente y li fui da quel gorno
 Ch' el me seppe mostrare la goi che sempre ò mente,
 Che m'à distrettamente tutto ligato intorno.
 Come fa l'unicorno
 D'una ponzela verçene ditata,
 Ch'è da li caçatori amaistrata;
 De la qual dolçement se ynamora,
 Sè che lo liga e non se ne dà cora.
 Da poi m'ebbe ligato, li soi ogli e' rise,
 Sì ch'a morte me mise, come lo basalisco,
 Ch'aucide che gl'è dato; cum soi ogli m'aucise
 La mia mente cortise; morore poi revivisco." (1)

Immediately following these lines are two figures of a different stamp. One is quite an original expression - the poet refers to his wings having been caught, the other is the familiar one of the sailor on a stormy sea:

"Oy deo, en che forte visco
 Me par che sian prese le mie ale,
 Che viver nè morire no mi vale;
 Cum omo ch'en mare se vede perire,
 Poi camperia potesse in terra gire." (2)

Omitting the next two lines we come upon a curious comparison containing an equally curious word - "çudeo" - this is evidently coined from the word "Judah," because Monaci interprets it as being equal to "l'Ebreo errante." This is, I believe, the only reference to the wandering Jew in early provenço-italian lyrics. This passage leads into the commonplace of "love's prison," followed by a slight reference to a court of justice.

"Da poi mi sono acorto d'amor chi no m'avança,

(1) Monaci p. 213.

(2) Ibid. p. 213.

"E per lunga speranza lo çudeo è perduto.
 Ma s'eo non aço ajuto
 D'amor, che m'ebbe meso en sua presone,
 Non so que corte mi faça rasone;
 Che, s'el mancha cului unde omo spera,
 Çascuna peste sopraçonce entera."(1)

The "non so que" in the fifth line presumably means "any court whatsoever."

The poem "Pir meu cori alegrari" contains one bestiarial simile - the tiger and the mirror. This parallel is also adopted by Richard Barbézieux and again we see an undoubted resemblance between the Italian and the Provençal; however, as the bestiaries were very well-known we cannot admit this as a further proof of the troubadour's influence upon Stefano da Messina. At all events it is interesting to compare the sister figures:

"Quando eu la guardo, sintiria dulzuri,
 Ki fa la tigma in illu miraturi;
 Ki si vidi livari multu crudiliminti
 Sua nuritura, ki illu à nutricatu;
 E si bono li pari mirarsi dulcimenti
 Dintru unu speclu chi li esti amustratu,
 Ki l'ublia siguiuri;
 Cusi m'è dolci mia donna vidiri;
 Ke'n lei guardando metu in sublianza
 Tutt' altra mia intindanza,
 Sè ki istanti mi ferì sou amuri
 D'un culpu ki inavanza tutisuri."(2)

"Si cum la tigma el mirador
 Que per remirar son cors gen
 Oblida s'ira e son turmen,
 Aissi quan vey lieys cui azor.
 Oblit mo mal, e ma dolor n'es mendre,
 E ja negus no s'en fassa devis,
 Qu'ieu vos dirai per cert qui m'a conquis,
 Si o sabetz conoisser ni entendre."(3)

(1) Monaci p. 214.

(2) Ibid. p. 214.

(3) R. III., p. 457.

In l. 36 the "lance of love" again presents itself.

"C'amorì la ferisse de la lanza,
Che me fere, mi lanza."(1)

The linguistic forms throughout these two poems are very odd. They may be due to dialectal peculiarities, or to the vagaries of a scribe; but the presence of such forms as "illu" are interesting. If the present text is actually that of the Notary Stefano, it seems puzzling to find such systematic use of archaic forms.

The poem "Assai cretti celare," contains some remarkably interesting figures. The first is of a man with "intent to thieve" who is frightened of his own shadow. The comparison is dramatic and, to my knowledge, original.

"Certo ben son temente
Di mia voglia mostrare;
E quando io creò posare,
Mio cor prende arditanza;
E fa similmente
Come chi va o furare,
Che pur veder li pare
L'ombra di c'ha dottanza(2)
E poi prende ardimento
Quant' ha maggior paura.
Così Amor m'assicura,
Quando più mi spavento,
Chiamar merzé a quella a cui son dato;
Ma poi la veo, ublio ciò c'ho pensato."

Equally original is the figure in stanza III. of the sick man,

(1) Monaci p. 215.

(2) The meaning of this line seems to me rather difficult to ascertain - it might conceivably mean "the shadow of what he fears," or judging by the interpretation of the figure, we might read into it that "the thing he feared was but a shadow." Let the reader judge.

who feels that his malady is becoming more acute, loses heart and thinks he can help matters by weeping:

"E piango per usagio,
Come fa lo malato
Che si sente agravato
E dotta in suo coragio.
Che per lamento li par spese fiate
Li passi parte di ria volontate."(1)

Stanza V. presents the figure of the ship-wrecked vessel, the passage bears a certain resemblance to the corresponding passage in Giacomo da Lentino's poem "Madonna dir vi voglio." Stefano di Pronto writes as follows:

"E dammi insegnamento
Nave c'ha tempestanza,
Che torna in allegrezza
Per suo peso alleggiare.
E quando agio alleggiato
De lo gravor ch'io porto,
Io credo essere in porto
Di riposo arrivato,
Così m'aven, com'a la cominzaglia,
Ch'io creo aver vinto, ancor sona battaglia."(2)

Notice the skilful way in which Stefano transforms the expected comparison into a skilfully wielded metaphor. In Giacomo da Lentino the figure takes the following form:

"Lo vostro amore (che) m'ave
In mare tempestoso
Così como la nave,
C'a la fortuna gitta ogni pesanti,
E campane per getto

(1) Carducci p. 28.

(2) Ibid.

"Del loco periglioso,
 Similmente eo getto
 A voi, bella, li miei sospiri e pianti. etc." (1)

The poets both insist upon the idea of jettison, but Giacomo da Lentino makes more of it than does Stefano. Notice the last two lines of the latter's stanza. He introduces a new figure, that of a false success in combat. But the figure itself is of lesser importance, it is the word "cominzaglia" which must engage our attention. "Cominzare" was an old form of "cominciare" but I do not see what connection there could be between this word and the verb "to begin." I would suggest that "cominzaglia" is a collective plural form of "comiziale" from "comizio," and that when the poet says "a la cominzaglia" he merely signifies a large public gathering for the purpose of election. Combats would not be an uncommon occurrence at such meetings, one feels, either arising from personal and political differences, or perhaps organised for the entertainment of the crowd. The glossaries are ominously silent upon this point. The last stanza contains the phoenix parallel and a new version of the stag figure, certainly not the form which is usually quoted:

"Però com'a la fene
 Vorria m'adivenisse,
 S'Amor lo consentisse,
 Poi tal vita m'è dura,
 Ché s'arde e poi rivene;

(1) Butler p. 6.

"Ché forse, s'io m'ardesse
 Ed a nuovo surgesse,
 Ch'io muteria ventura.
 O ch'io mi rinnovasse
 Come cervo in vecchieza,
 Che torna in sua bellezza:
 Così se m'incontrasse,
 Forse che rinnovato piacerea
 Là donde ogne ben sol merzé saría."(1)

The individuality of the poet shows itself in the quaint transformation of the phoenix figure. If Stefano were burnt to ashes and arose to life again, perhaps his luck would change! Thus each Sicilian poet succeeded in leaving a personal mark even upon well-worn conceits.

Of Filippo da Messina nothing is known except that he may have been that Judge who was a colleague of Guido delle Colonne in 1282(2). He has left one sonnet which is not of any great merit. It opens with a tedious play upon the word "punto," then follow the stock references to Helen and Paris, and to Tristan and Isolde, and finally appears the May rose.

"Ai, sire ideo, con forte fu lo punto
 Che gli occhi tuoi, madonna, i' sguardai, lasso!
 Ché sè son preso e da vostro amor punto,
 Ch'amor d'ogni altra donna per voi lasso.
 Non fino di penare uno punto,
 Per omo morto a voi, donna, mi lasso;
 Non sono meo quanto d'un ago punto,
 Se mi disdegne, be moragio, lasso!
 Poi non son meo ma vostro, amor meo fino;
 Preso m'avete como Alena Pari,
 E non amò Tristano tanto Isolda
 Quanto amo voi per cui penar non fino.
 Oi rosa fresca che di magio aparì,
 Mercé vi chiamo, lo meno core solda."(3)

(1) Carducci p. 28.

(2) Cp. Cesareo p. 157.

(3) Monaci p. 215.

A curious poem exists by one Rugieri Apugliese, which although not figurative in character, demands a passing mention on account of its quaint style.⁽¹⁾ It consists of a long list of contrasts and gives the impression of being a riddle without an answer. The opening lines are:

"Umile sono ed argoglioso, prode e vile e coraggioso,
Franco e sichuro e pauroso, e sono folle e sagio,
E dolente e allegro e giojoso, largo, scarso e
dubitoso, etc."

This poem surely was written in jest.

Folco di Calabria deserves mention for the sake of one curious figure. Folco is probably that count of Calabria who died in 1270 as the result of a duel with Simon de Montfort. The figure referred to is the following one:

"D'amore distretto, vivo doloroso
Com omo, che sta lontano e vedesi alungare
Da cosa ch'ama, vedes' inojoso;"

The idea presumably is that of a man being carried away from the place he loves, perhaps Folco himself sailing away from Calabria to the crusades.

It only remains for us now to add a few anonymous quotations to those already incorporated. The poem "La mia vita è sì forte e dura e fera" contains a few figures, all slight and in direct tradition with the Provençal. In line 3 there is a

(1) Cp. note on page 289

fire simile:

"Anzi distrugo come foco ciera,"(1)

In the last line of stanza II. the expression occurs -

"E venuto ne sono a malo porto."

which is a mere commonplace of Provençal poetry. Stanza III. brings us the familiar "ballia" and the scriptural "mala via," while stanza IV. introduces the one interesting point in the whole poem, namely

"Senza nullo tenore
Lo suo amore m'è manna saporita."(2)

The word "manna" is occasionally used by the Provençal troubadours, e.g. Jaufré Rudel:

"Ben es selh pagutz de mana
Qui ren de s'amor guazanha."(3)

and Guillaume de Cabestaing:

"Que mal m'es dolz e savorius,
E'l pauc ben mana don mi pais."(4)

But this, so far, is the only example of its use by the Sicilians. Dante employs it in the Vita Nuova, and it will be interesting to learn whether it occurs in intervening poets.

(1) Butler p. 68.

(2) Ibid. p. 69.

(3) Jeanroy p. 4.

(4) R. III., p. 111.

The poem "Donna, lo fino amore" bears the same strong Provençal stamp. The poet is crowned among lovers:

"E fra gli amanti in gran gioia coronato.
Eo porto alta corona,"(1)

An original touch is provided by the hyperbole of stanza III.:

"Se lingua ciascun membro
Del corpo s'è faciesse,
Vostre belleze nom poria cantare;"

but this is quickly followed by the trite commonplace;

"Voi soprastate come' l ciel la terra;"

The last stanza introduces once more the feudal parallel of the good lord:

"Madonna, il mio penare
Per fino amor gradisco,
Pensando ch'è in voi gran conoscenza;
Troppe non de' durare
L'affanno che sofrisco,
Che bon sengnor non dà torta sentenza.
Compiutamente è 'n voi tutta valenza
E merito, voi siete e morte e vita;
Più vertudiosa siete in meritare
Ch'io nom posso in voi servendo amare."(2)

Notice the Provençal conceit of contrast exemplified in the "morte e vita." A similar expression occurs in the concluding line of stanza III.:

(1) Butler p. 70.

(2) Butler p. 71.

"Per cui morir d'amor mi saria vita."

Butler draws attention to a very interesting phenomenon in this poem, contained in these lines:

"Ond' io mi credo magnificato
E fra gli amanti in gran gioia coronato.
Eo porto alta corona,
Poi ch'eo vi son servente
A cui mi sembra alto regnar servire;
.....
Che 'nfra le donne voi siete sovrana,
D'ogni grazia e di virtù compiuta,"

Butler regards "magnificato" and "coronato" as an "obvious devotional allusion." He comments upon "regnar servire" as follows: "here there can be no doubt of the source from which this expression is taken. The words occur in our prayer-book in the second Collect at Morning Prayer, in the form "Whose service is perfect freedom." But in the Latin original, ascribed to Gelasius (fifth century A'D'), the form is 'cui servire regnare est.'" Finally, "d'ogni grazia compiuta" suggests to him "gratia plena." Liturgical reminiscences of this type are almost unknown in the Sicilian school. In the first place, we do not find in Italian, the great mass of Hymns to the Virgin which existed in Provençal and thus there was no possibility of inter-influence. Sicilian poetry is almost never mystical, madonna certainly does not have "cette auréole de noblesse," in Italy, she is more human. The worship of Mary does not seem to have had the same widespread

influence there as it had in France. It must also be borne in mind that Italian lyrical poetry never had the same close connection with the church which Provençal poetry certainly had. It is sufficient to call to mind how many troubadours were primarily destined to enter the clergy, and how many retired to the monastery of Citeaux to end their days in peace.

The curious little poem "Per la fera membranza" contains an interesting bird simile, sympathetically and gracefully expressed:

"Faro come l'ausello
 Quand' altre lo distene,
 Che vive ne la spene
 La quale ha ne lo core,
 E no more sperando di campare;
 E aspettando quello
 Viveragio con pene,
 Ch'io non credo aver bene;"(1)

It is a very unusual occurrence to find troubadours or Sicilians writing of hope. As a general rule, false confidence or a little personal vanity took the place of this virtue. The verse closes with a numerical hyperbole, a feature which is also somewhat rare:

"E mille anni mi pare
 Che fu la dipartita;"(2)

While this quotation brings to a close our selection of figures there are still some critical points which require dis-

(1) Carducci p. 19.

(2) Ibid.

cussion and whose place seemed to come rather in the epilogue of the section than in the prologue. The two greatest critics of the Sicilian school - Gasparry and Cesareo - still have some important statements to make and it is only right that we should present these in so far as they have a bearing upon the work in hand. Thus Gasparry says: "The poetical output of this Sicilian school, primarily an imitation of foreign models that narrowed its scope, could not fail to lack all the freshness and originality which mostly form the principal elements of the beginnings of a national literature." (1) He then proceeds to indicate how the subject matter of Provençal was transferred to the unwieldy idiom of Italian, how the conventions of courtly love, which in Provence were natural, in Italy were unnatural, etc. The first remark that could be made about this criticism obviously is that it is much too generalised, but if we must deal in sweeping statements there yet remain some suggestions to be made. In the first place, it is certainly true that Sicilian poetry as a whole does lack something of the freshness and originality of Provençal - but to say it lacks all freshness and originality is an exaggeration. In the second place, it must be remembered that many Italian poets were distinctly original and one of them, at least, wrote really great poetry - we mean the Notary of Lentino. The somewhat restrained manner of the Sicilian poets is due also to a change in temperament; we have tried to

(1) 'Italian Literature.' p. 59.

point out that the Italians, from their own troubadours downwards, are more reflective and have a more speculative cast of mind than the Provençal minstrels. With regard to the feudal conventions of courtly love, Gaspart is right to a large extent, but at the same time we feel bound to admit that feudal figures are not frequent and that the influences of "bourgeois" manners are not far to seek. When we consider the question of figures of speech we find that the same general remarks hold good, except that many new figures are introduced and many old figures are individualised.

Gaspari now turns to the character of "madonna," which he describes as one of pale conventionality, and this condemnation also requires a little qualification, for the popular poetry had a certain influence upon the courtly lyric in this respect. The woman played a very real part in the songs of the people, and possessed a very real personality. perhaps the epithet of passionate is the one which could be most fitly applied to her. Thus it is not to be wondered at that "madonna" is very often far from being a mere negative quantity. For example, in Giacomo da Lentino's poem "Dolce cominciamento" the lady takes up the star figure which her lover has suggested:

"Tu stesso ti riprendi
Se mi vei favillare;"

(1) *Corrado* p. 333.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 331.

(3) Gaspari regards these as exceptions.

(4) p. 31.

which is reminiscent of the popular interchange of wit. In the third stanza she says:

".....io t'ameragio
E non ti falleragio
A tutto l mio vivente."(1)

Again, in his sonnet "Lo viso mi fa andare" Giacomo da Lentino says:

"Chi vide mai così begli occhi in viso?
Nè sè amorosi fare li sembianti?
Nè bocca con cotanto dolce riso?
Quand' eo lo parlo, moroli davanti,
E paremi ch'i ' vada in paradiso,
E teginomi sovrano d'ogni amanti."(2)

Certainly none of these passages could be termed pale or conventional, and similar traits of human feeling are even more vividly depicted in the poems of Giacomino Pugliese and Rinaldo d' Aquino(3), not to speak of the occasional touches to be found from time to time in minor poets.

Gasparry refers then to the question of rhetoric images. He says: "The oldest Italian lyrical poetry is full of these commonplaces; it is possible that they may not all come from Provence, and that the Italians may have added to the stock of conventional ideas."(4) After a careful examination of available material, it may safely be said that the Italians did not add to the stock of conventional ideas; but that they did make

(1) Cesareo p. 333.

(2) Ibid. p. 351.

(3) Gasparry regards these as exceptions.

(4) p. 61.

some contribution to metaphorical language is undeniable. For example, figures culled from the bestiaries and the lapidaries are more varied and numerous; the romances referred to are somewhat different - the tale of the savage man, and the Old Man of the Mountains, become favourite comparisons, finally the word "spirit" comes to have a different meaning from the Provençal "esperitz" and assumes a rôle of ever-increasing importance. With regard to treatment of figures, we may say, that on the whole, the figures are less artistically handled and less aptly applied, but while this is true of the majority, the minority is so striking as to eclipse any general defects. In nearly every poet there is at least one good figure, and in such a poet as Giacomo da Lentino the handling of figures is masterly. On one other point Gasparry seems to be at variance with truth - he regards Guido delle Colonne as an innovator in that he strives to employ "fresh and newly invented images." But, as has already been demonstrated, the Judge was merely following here again the tradition of Folquet de Marselha, Raimon di Miraval and other poets of the same type.

In his treatment of the rôle of popular poetry Gasparry is most rational and prudent. "It is true," he states, "that the Provençal style of poetry could only be a passing fashion, and that the further development of the literature required a fresh spirit, so that those forms might be infused with new life

and vigour. The elements of an inspiration of this kind, that was independent and not of foreign origin, had obviously always existed, having perhaps previously found expression in popular songs. But in view of the wide-spread reputation of the conventional court poetry, a new spirit such as this could only make itself felt gradually, and required a longer period in which to develop freely. But some traces of it can be remarked even in the poetry of the Sicilians. This introduction of a healthier and more natural style of poetry into the traditional manner, these first notes of true poetry are undoubtedly worthy of our special attention, although we must beware of over-estimating their importance, as has been done of late."(1)

This tendency to over-estimate the importance of the popular lyric has become even more strongly developed in recent years. The aim of modern criticism seems to be to emphasise the importance of the latter to an almost absurd degree.

Turning our attention finally to the work of Cesareo we find again a subject which requires ventilating. Cesareo claims that, granted there was imitation of foreign models, the imitation was of recent troubadours, not of the early poets. At one point he declares: "poi anche i trovatori siciliani imitaron, se mai, ciò ch'era proprio alla poesia provenzale più recente e di moda: non andavano a ripescare, per imitarli, i luoghi

(1) Op. cit. p. 67.

antichi ed insoliti di quella letteratura." And considerably later he returns to the same question, more confirmed in his convictions: "I poeti provenzali imitati nella nostra lirica cortigiana del secolo decimoterzo, non sono i più antichi, ma i più recenti; non Guglielmo di Poitou, Bernardo di Ventadorn o Marcabrun, ma Perdigon, Peire Raimon, Cadenet, Sordello, Richart de Barbezieux, tutti fioriti fra lo scorcio del secolo decimo-secondo e la prima metà del decimoterzo."⁽¹⁾ The only proof offered by Cesareolis a footnote containing exactly four instances of inspiration or imitation. This does not seem sufficient evidence. Experience has shown that on those occasions when a figure of speech in Italian recalled a counterpart in Provençal the resemblance showed no particular bias in favour of the later writers. From another point of view one may add that the school of troubadour poetry showed no appreciable development except in its last years because the movement was at the highest point of maturity when the first known troubadours began to write. It is true that such poets as Montanhagol and Riquier introduce a new spirit, but they again, were too late to have had any influence on the Sicilians. In short, one feels, that Cesareo's testimony is somewhat unsubstantial and that the problem requires further investigation.

But apart from those minor controversial points we most

(1) Op. cit. p. 362.

heartily acquiesce in the praise given by Cesareo to the poets of the Sicilian school. On severing our connection with them, after so long and intimate a friendship we may say with truth that we find these words to be a fitting tribute: "La contemplazione, la disperazione, la gioia, i moti d'amore; la mestizia della lontananza; la fitta della gelosia; e poi tutto il materiale rettorico, immagini, paragoni, colori, eran cose che ciascuno poteva rappresentar rinnovate con freschezza e sincerità, perchè non appartenevano esclusivamente alla società cavalleresca, ma al sentimento generale degli uomini." (1)

In conclusion, may we then permit ourselves to say with Dante:

"Perplures doctores indigenas invenimus graviter cecinisse." (2)

(1) Op. cit. p. 324.

(2) D.V.E. I. xii.

Lirica Dottrinale.

"Tra i rimatori.....stettero alcuni non ancora interamente liberi dagl' influssi provenzali; ma che discorsero dell' amore e trattarono anche argomenti morali e politici scolasticamente."(1)

This may be regarded as a very fair and general definition of the Lirica Dottrinale school of poetry, sometimes called the school of central Italy, or the Tuscan school. We would like to point out that the first title is occasionally interpreted in a different way. By certain critics it is used to describe the moral allegory and didactic school which under French influence produced such works as "Il Fiore," "Il Tesore," "l'Intelligenza" etc. We wish to guard against any such misunderstanding at the outset, Guittone d'Arezzo and his followers are the poets to whom we wish to turn our attention.

A glance at the time chart will show that this poetic movement coincided with the last phases of the Sicilian school, but it must not be imagined that the doctrinal lyric was a development of the latter. It must be regarded merely as a different manifestation of the same influence, a divergence in style which was due largely to geographical position, political problems and mental environment. Briefly, we mean that the Tuscans and Pisans were in closer communication with Provençal- and French-speaking peoples, they were in the region where Provençal was

(1) Torraca: Man. della lett. it. vol. 1. p. 43.

still written and studied; their lives were passed amid the unrest and bloodshed of intercommunal strife; finally they were in direct touch with the great cultural centre of Bologna. It is not difficult to trace a connection between these facts and the most salient characteristics of the poetry. In the first place it seems to be generally admitted that the cultivation of Provençal models was particularly strong. Thus Rossi says:

"Anzi nei Toscani l'imitazione divenne più pedissequa e più materiale, fino ad essere talvolta plagio diretto di poesie trovadoriche, in ispecie delle più tarde. Essi si compiacquero assai d'ogni genere d'artificio, dei bisticci di parole, delle rime ripercosse nell' interno dei versi, delle rime equivoche, delle rime strane e difficili, dell' allitterazione, della replicazione e rinnovarono così la maniera oscura o chiusa dei provenzali."(1) While in Gaspary we find a statement which is

more documented: "This Provençal influence was even renewed and strengthened in Tuscany. The style and language of Guittone d'Arezzo show more clearly than in the case of any other poet the traces of a diligent study of the troubadours; he frequently quotes them in his letters, and once translates a passage of Peire Vidal very correctly. Of Messer Migliore degli Abati the "Cento Novelle" relate that he spoke Provençal excellently. Guittone, bewailing the death of the poet Giacomo da Leona, sings of him that he had spoken and written poetry in French and Provençal better than in Aretine. We have a sonnet in the

(1) Rossi: 'Storia della lett. it. vol. 1. p. 83.

Provençal tongue by Paolo Lanfranchi of Pistoja, and two such by Dante da Majano. More important still is the fact that one of the two old Provençal grammars, the 'Donatz Provensals,' was composed about this time in Italy and for the special use of the Italians. Moreover, the other old Provençal grammar, the 'Razos del Trobar' of Raimon Vidal, did not remain unknown; the poet Girolamo Terramagnino of Pisa turned the prose into bad Provençal verse; Among the Tuscan poets of this school instances of direct borrowing from the troubadours are more frequent. Thus Jacopo Mostacci, imitating a poem of Jordan de l'Isla - "Longa sazon ai estat vas amor," in the canzone "Umile core e fino e amoroso," followed his original more closely than had probably ever been done in the south."⁽¹⁾

In the second place, there is a distinct change in the subject-matter of the poetry. The fact that its connection with feudalism was severed, rendered its feudalistic conventions so meaningless that they were gradually discarded, the extent of the reform varying greatly in individual writers. Poetry was made a vehicle for political discussion, exhortation and often ^{personal} abuse; in this respect the Tuscans show again their close relation to Provençal forms, the sirventes, for which the Sicilians had no use, found a preponderant rôle to play in central Italy. Not only civil quarrels, but also the existence of intellectual problems gave the doctrinal school a highly controversial character and favoured the wide development of one other Provençal form

(1) Gaspari: 'It. Lit. to Death of Dante.' p. 77.

- namely the "tenzone." The extraordinary popularity to which the "Tenzone" attained, and the nature of its construction, based as it was on the interchange of single "coblas," achieved the final establishment of the sonnet as a poetic form, indeed so universal did the fashion become that Guittone d'Arezzo alone wrote two hundred sonnets.

At this point, we again have recourse to the work of Rossi and Gaspary. With regard to the tenzone Rossi makes the following statement: "E come i provenzali in certe canzoni, le cui strofe spettano alternativamente a due o più poeti, avevano disputato su questioni varie, amorose, scientifiche, filosofiche, così i Toscani piantarono discussioni di simil natura e le svolsero invece in sonetti solitamente legati dall' identità delle rime. In sonetti: chè presso di loro questa forma metrica contese validamente alla canzone il dominio dell' alta lirica, fu perfezionata ed ebbe amplificazioni e svolgimenti non tutti invero felici." (1) The change of content provokes these remarks: "Alcuni dei rimatori che abbiamo nominato, e altri ancora non solo trattarono materia amorosa al modo dei provenzali, ma anche composero sonetti e canzoni d'argomento morale, filosofico, politico, traendo ispirazione ai loro versi dalla loro stessa cultura scientifica e dalle reali condizioni della vita." (2)

The same points are treated also by Gaspary. Speaking of the tenzoni he says: "Sometimes personal insults, but more frequently general questions of various kinds formed the subject

(1) Op. cit. p. 83.

(2) Ibid.

of these discussions. Often, as in most of the similar poems of the troubadours, it is a question of certain subtle distinctions in the matter of love affairs.....But other, and still less poetical problems, also appear in these dialogues. One asks another to resolve his doubts in scientific questions, and the Florentines as we shall see, make "tenzoni" on political subjects too. Dino Compagni, in a sonnet, lays before the lawyer, Lapo Saltarelli, a complicated legal case, and Guittone and his imitators occupy themselves with abstruse moral and theological themes.....The transplanting of this class of poetry to Italy was by no means unimportant: the correspondences in series of sonnets which resulted from it, remained a favourite form of composition among succeeding generations and in later ages. Inasmuch as they adopted fresh themes for treatment, they often served to express in a graphic manner the intellectual movement of the times."⁽¹⁾ After this brief survey of the doctrinal school of poetry we find ourselves in a position to approach once more the problem of figures of speech. Although no critic such as Cesareo is on the field now to warn us against over-zealous search of imitations and sources, we shall endeavour to pursue the same line of attack as in the treatment of the Sicilian school; let our investigations be carried out with discretion, let our final judgments be delivered with circumspection, for here we may find even more pit-falls than before.

(1) Opit. cit. p. 178.

Guittone d'Arezzo.

The date of Guittone's birth is uncertain, but we know that he was a native of Arezzo. Two distinct periods of his life are reflected in his poetry, the first is that of the love-poetry which ended with his conversion about the year 1269 when he entered the order of the Cavalieri di Santa Maria, or the Frati Gaudenti, as they were often called; in the part of his life following this revulsion of feeling, his literary activity is confined to hymns to the Virgin, exhortations to the world to turn from its sins, and other work of a moralising nature. The defeat of the Florentines at the battle of Montecatini called forth a fine song of reproach, and indeed Guittone is probably at his best in this poem and in the similar address to the Aretines (canz. IX.). In 1293 he gave a portion of his fortune for the founding of the monastery degli angeli in Florence, and he died in the following year, 1294.

When we turn to the poems of Guittone d'Arezzo we are struck by their utter aridity and lack of poetic feeling. As Bertoni says, there is a notable difference between this style of poetry and that of the Sicilian school. In the latter there is often a fresh, almost popular note while in Guittone "tutto è studiato, pensato, calcolato. Il nostro aretino fu certamente un troppo artificioso artista; ma ebbe il vanto di aver rivolta

la sua Musa a soggetti nuovi, sopra tutti politici, esercitando una grande efficacia sui contemporanei, sì da attrarne non pochi nell' orbita della sua maniera di poetare."⁽¹⁾ The canzoni show a remarkable resemblance to those of Arnaut Daniel, and the spirit of the religious poems alternately recalls Peire Cardenal and Cercamon. Rhetoric conceits are not very numerous, and are used rather from a utilitarian than from a poetic point of view.

The device of contrast is popular with Guittone as in the following lines:

"Tutto il dolor che mai portai fu gioia,
E la gioia neiente appo' l' dolore
Del mio cor lasso, etc."⁽²⁾

In the same poem we find the familiar commonplaces quoted with regard to riches; once, the idea becomes figurative:

"C' a lo riccor d' amor null' altro è pare,"⁽³⁾

The third stanza contains a curious expression in the first line:

"Ai! com pot' om che non di vita à fiore,
Durar contra di mal tutt' altro grato?"⁽⁴⁾ R

It is not quite clear what Guittone means to convey by "a fiore." The last lines of stanza IV., though not figurative, are interesting because of their resemblance to the Vita Nuova XIV. Guittone describes how,

(1) 'Storia lett. d'It.' Il Duecento p. 76.

(2) Butler p. 80.

(3) Butler p. 81.

(4) Ibid.

"Però om mi mostra addito e del mal meo
Si gabba, "(1)

It will be remembered how the ladies "si gabbavano di" Dante.

Stanza V. contains two slight metaphors. The first is the expression "punto fortunai" - a stormy moment, the second is more substantial:

"Ca s'eo tormento d'una parte forte,
E voi dell' altra più stringe il chiavello
Come la più distretta e inamorata
Che mai fosse approvata;"(2)

"Chiavello" usually means a pointed spike. The meaning of the passage is obscure; perhaps Guittone is thinking of some instrument of torture.

Finally, love is compared to a poison:

"Amor, amor più che veleno amaro,
Non già ben vede chiaro
Chi si mette in poder tuo volontero;"(3)

The canzone "Tuttor s'eo vegliò o dormo" introduces us to a novel and interesting figure:

"E quel voler ad or m'ò
ch'è di zappar in campo
O di credere a tacca;"

Butler renders the lines thus: "I like it as much as digging in the fields, or trusting to a tally." So far as I know, this metaphor of digging has not been used before. It is interesting

(1) Butler p. 82.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid. p. 83.

also to find that Guittone takes it up again in the poem "Vergogno, lasso, ed ò me stesso ad ira," at the beginning of the fifth stanza:

"Come al lavorator la zappa è data,
È dato il mondo a noi; non per gaudere,
Ma per esso eternal vita aquistare;"(1)

The connotation suggests that Guittone was inspired by the scriptural phrase - "to till the soil."

Returning to the poem under discussion, we find two interesting parallels in stanza III.

"Om che pregio ama, e pò
Più che leggere in scola,
Amar valeli prò;
Chè più legiero è Pò
A passar senza scola,
Che 'l mondo ad omo prò
Senza amore ched a
Cori e bisongni dà
Spronar, valore, e forzo;"(2)

The figures depend, of course, upon the double meaning of "scola". The first time it occurs we may take it at its usual value, namely "school." Slight as the detail is, it yet suffices to show the changed circumstances in which we find ourselves. The Sicilians never spoke of reading in school. but to the Tuscan the school has become an important factor in life.. In l. 5 "scola" adopts a new significance, it comes to mean a small boat, probably originating from the Latin "scapulaa." Both figures are thus novel, and the second is good. The mention of the "Po"

(1) Butler p. 97.

(2) Ibid. p. 84.

strengthens the realistic atmosphere of the whole. Feudal figures still exist in a somewhat suppressed form, and the last line of this canzone contains the expression "s'omo," presumably equal to "su' omo." The same vestige of feudal convention is apparent in the first stanza of "Amor tanto altamente":

"....in suo sengnoragio a meo dirire.
A che di ciò m'invegio,
Cierto cielar lo bene
Che del sengnore vene, fosse fallire."(1)

The words "sengnoria," "sengnoraggio" etc. occur at intervals throughout the poem. Stanza III. brings to our notice one other telling detail. In the later Sicilians we had encountered the word "pensier" or "pensamento." In the present instance the word is accompanied by an adjective so as to form a quasi personification.

"Ma avaccio mi riprese
Uno pensier cortese,"(2)

This expression might be compared with the Provençal use of "us esperitz cortes"(3). Similar usages in poets of the "dolce stil nuovo" will occur to every reader. Stanza IV. brings us a slightly confused adaptation of the "heart conventions":

"Nel suo chiarito viso
E amorosa piagienza
Fumi lo cor remisio
C'altra guisa non fora mai partuto."(4)

(1) Butler p. 85.

(2) Ibid. p. 86.

(3) Cp. Ue Brunet, Raynouard III., p. 315.

(4) Butler p. 87.

In stanza V. there is a reference to a contemporary poet - Percival Doria:

"Se vo atendendo lasso,
Poi m'avenisse, lasso,
Che mi trovasse in fallo,
Sicome Prezevallo, non cherere."(1)

Butler sees in this an apparent allusion to Doria's poem "Amor m'À priso."

The famous address to the Florentines after the battle of Montaperti contains two fine figures. But one must not credit Guittone with the invention of these, because both were the civic emblems of Florence. Thus in l. 5 of the poem we find:

".....l' alta fior, sempre granata,"(2)

the flower being the full-blown iris, showing its seed-capsules. Again in the first line of stanza II. we meet the expression "la fiorita fiore," and at the close of the poem, "Fiorenza, fior che sempre rinovella." The other figure is of course that of the lion, it is introduced in the last line of stanza II. and developed in the opening lines of stanza III.:

"C'al mondo non fu canto
Che non sonasse il presgio del leone.
Leone, lasso, or non è, ch'i' lo veo
Tratto l'unghie e le denti e lo valore,
E'l gran linguaggio suo mortal dolore,
E di suo bel presgio messo a gran reo."(3)

Unfortunately, however, as we pointed out, Guittone cannot be

(1) Butler p. 87.
(2) " p. 88.
(3) " p. 89.

commended for the choice of these figures, nor is there anything in the poetic treatment to excite comment.

In the "plazer" there is only one figure, that of light. Such a metaphor could be culled either from Provençal or from the Bible, it is too familiar to merit further discussion:

"Sami bon Papa la cui vita è lucie,
Al cui splendor ciascun malfar vergongna." (1)

The poem "Vergongno, lasso, ed ò me stesso ad ira" is interesting for various reasons. It contains the first instance of a bestiarial figure:

"S'io resurgiesse, com fenicie facie,
Già fora a la fornacie
Lo putriffatto mio vil corpo ardendo;" (2)

In stanza III. we call attention to the word "fisolarfi" = "filosofi," which is the first instance encountered of the use of this word. It is another of those infinitesimal details which are so pregnant with meaning - there were no schools or "philosophers" in Sicily. Stanza V. contains the "digging" parallel previously quoted, and in Stanza VI. we find ourselves at last in full presence of theological terminology. Notice, however, that the metaphor of light still remains:

"Oì, sommo Ben, da cui ben tutto è nato,
Oì luce, per qual vede ogni visagio,
O sapienza, onde sa ciascun sagio,
Neiente feci me, tu mi ricerii,

(1) Butler p. 94.

(2) Ibid. p. 95.

"Disviai me, tu me riuvi,
Ed or bai me, tu m'ài lume renduto; etc."(1)

The poem "Comune perta fa ~~com~~undolore" has one figure which is obviously inspired by the passage in the Sermon on the Mount: "Do men gather grapes of thorns or figs of thistles?"(2) but Guittone changes the form of the figure entirely, making a war-horse and a nag the points of contrast. This seems to me significant of his utter lack of poetic feeling. The figure has at least the merit of being unusual; if indeed it is a merit to be peculiar:

"Se figlio di destrier(3) destrieri vale,
Non è gran cosa, e non n'è lausor magno,
Ma magna è onta se ronzin somiglia;
Ma ciò è maraviglia
E cosa magna se di ronzin vene
Che destrieri val bene,
E tal' è da orrar sovra destrero
Bass' omo, à core e senno, ed or se fa da stagno;
Ond' è ver degno d'aver pregio tale."(4)

Guittone's poems are full of the same trite moral sayings to which we have so often referred in poems by troubadour and Sicilian alike. It would serve no purpose to quote all these proverbs, but the one which appears in the last stanza of the present poem may be chosen as a good typical instance:

(1) Butler p. 97.

(2) Matt. VII. 16.

(3) Butler is puzzled as to the original meaning of this word, it is given, he says, by Diez as derived from the Lat. "dextrarius" because the horse was "brought to the rider's right side to mount." Butler very naturally asks, "how then were other horses mounted?" The explanation current in France to-day is more sensible. A knight dressed in full armour rode to battle on a palfrey so as not to fatigue his war-horse, which he led by his right hand.

(4) Butler pp. 99 - 100.

"Non ver lignaggio fa sangue, ma core,
Nè vero pregio poder, ma vertute;"(1)

We might almost construe these lines to fit the famous words of Tennyson -

"Kind hearts are more than coronets
And simple faith than Norman blood."

The canzone "Voglia de dir giusta ragion m'à porta" affords but one figure, that of the stormy sea, and the safe haven:

"Or non m'è morte el suo senno, ma porta
Di vita dolcie, ove mi pasch' e deporto,
Che tanto acconciamente mi deporto
En tenpestoso mar, che vol ch'eo porti
Per lei la vita, e lui de faccia porti:"(2)

In the poem "Ora parà s'eo saverò cantare" we find a more striking figure. It is again a boat, this time manned by an honest skipper, with knowledge at the helm and God as a guiding star. The character of the figure is completely new, it is philosophical, if one may venture to use that much abused term:

"Ma chi cantare vole nè valer bene
In suo lengno nohier diritto pone,
Ed orrato saver mette al timone,
Dio fa sua stella e inver lausor sua spene."(3)

A passage of the same nature, though less highly figurative occurs later in the same poem. The sentiment is noble and confirms the old-established opinion that Guittone was a man of lofty character.

(1) Butler p. 100.

(2) Monaci p. 171.

(3) Ibid. p. 173, cp. also D'Ancona and Comparetti, vol. II., p. 214.

"Ché' bella morte hom sagio
 Dea di coragio più che vita amare;
 Ché non per stare ma per passare orato
 Dea creder ciascun om d'esser criato.
 In vita more e sempre in morte vive
 Omo fellon ch'è di ragion nemico;"(1)

There is an amusing sonnet addressed by Fra Guittone to Meo Abbracciavacca di Pistoja, but it is rather difficult to know how far the sonnet is intended to be literal. The two opening lines are a joke at the expense of Meo's odd name;

"Lo nome al vero fatt' à parentado:
 Le vacche par che t'abbian abbracciato
 Over che t' an le streghe amaliato,
 Tanto da lungo se' partito o' vado."(2)

Notice that in the third line Guittone speaks of witches making the cows sick. It is the first time we have met with the idea of a witch at all, and is thus interesting. Perhaps in central Italy contact with the Lombards and other Germanic peoples had influenced popular superstitions. On the other hand the word may be the direct descendant of the Latin sibyl.(3) In any case it is curious to find it here. The next two lines refer to a game of dice and it is here that one has difficulty in divining the poet's intention. He may be speaking quite literally. The curious expression "Zara dirieto" concerns the moves of the game.

(1) Monaci p. 173.

(2) Ibid. p. 186.

(3) It is possible too that the Germanic legend may also have been known, and in this connection we refer readers to 'Studi Med.' vol. IV. p. 213.

"Zara dirieto m'à gittato il dado,
 Ciò non serea se l'avesse grappato;
 Allegro sono, Meo, che se' tornato,
 Se pellegrino fusti, e ciò m'è a grado."

The last lines contain another entirely novel figure. Guittone says that Meo is like a wind-mill, because he never makes one place his destination long:

"Natura ten pur di mulin da vento,
 Nun loco mostra sempre tua partuta;
 Chi sol è a sé non vive senza noja."(1)

In the short poem addressed to Alberigol di Lando, we find the familiar figure of gold, tested by a standard, and placed in the fire:

"L'auro vostro reggendo è bon trovato
 A paragon provato;
 Ora' ntendo ched ell' è mess' a foco,
 E voi piace non poco,
 Che gran mister è da gran core amato."(2)

The long didactic poem "Altra fiata agio già, donne, par-
 lato," contains three figures. The first, strange to say, seems to have no application, I do not know what Guittone means us to infer from it. He is busily engaged in giving rules for conduct to the women of his time:

"Figura mansueta non conface
 Orgoglio aspreca odio al ~~cun~~ tenere.
 Pungere colomba ai ke laid' è vedere."(3)

Happily the other figures are more straightforward. To hear

(1) Monaci p. 186.
 (2) Ibid. p. 187.
 (3) Ibid. p. 191.

evil words proceeding from the lips of a woman is as if gall were to come from a honey-hive; at the same time we find woman compared to a "vase of manna."

"Ké veder villania
Garrendo e mentendo e biasmando,
Escir di donna è tale, come se fele
Rendesse arna di mele.
Vasi di manna par donna e di gioja;
Come render po noja?"(1)

The last figurative passage is really two-fold. A horse which is not for sale passes unnoticed, a man who wishes to keep his treasure does not show it off to robbers; so if women wish to be chaste, they must not flaunt their charms:

"Caval ke non si vende alaunnon segna,
Nè già mostre ke tegna
Lo suo tesauo caro hom c'a ladroni
Lo mostri ed affa³goni
Donne, se castita v'è n' piacimento,
Covra honesta vostra bella fa³gone."(2)

In the poem "A rinformare amore e fede e spera" there is one stanza (III.) which contains a number of small figures, and one striking detail is afforded by the fact that Guittone terms his lady, his god, and says that he calls upon her as another man calls upon God. The usual conceit of contrast appears also:

"Voi mio deo sete, e mia vita e mia morte:
Che s'io so' in terra o'n mare,
In periglioso affare,
Voi chiamo si com' altri face Deo:
Tosto liber mi veo.

(1) Monaci p. 192.

(2) Ibid.

"Mia vita sete ben, dolze amor, poi
 Sol mi pasco di voi;
 E mia morte anche siete,
 Chè, s'amar me sdicete,
 Un giorno in vita star mi forta forte." (1)

This passage shows perhaps better than any other Guittone's lack of artistic sense. He spoils the old sea figure by putting in "terra" as well, he stoops almost to bathos when he says "mi pasco di voi," and the arrangement of the whole is faulty. The poem closes with the gold figure:

"Ché, sé ~~com~~' è più fine
 Oro d'altro metallo.
 Sono elle senza fallo
 Più fine d'altre in ciascun bene eletto." (2)

The canzone "Se di voi, donna gente," contains a passage of much the same type - a curious mingling of different conceits:

".....Ché di cosa piacente
 Savemo in verità ch'è nato Amore.
 Or da voi, che del fiore
 Del piacer d'esto mondo siete apresa,
 Com' po l'om far difesa?
 Ché la natura intesa
 Fue di formare voi, co' 'l bon pintore
 Policreto fue de la sua pintura:
 Ché non po cuor pensare
 Né lingua divisare
 Che cosa in voi potesse esser più bella." (3)

Notice the scriptural reminiscence in the last few lines. At the close of the second stanza there is a curious little contrast passage. The cure of stoutness seems to be, to consume oneself - strange as this may seem - very bitter things ~~cure~~ that which sweets would kill, thus evil is a check upon too much good,

(1) Carducci p. 39.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid. p. 40.

and good a check upon excessive evil:

"Ché di troppa grassia
Guerisce om per sé stesso consumare,
E cose molto amare
Gueriscon ciò che dolzi aucidereno:
Di troppo bene è freno
Male, e di male troppo è benenanza."(1)

Stanza V. brings a curiously grotesque figure:

"E non po dimostrare
La lingua mia, com' è vostro lo core:
Per poco non ven fore
A dirèvi lo suo coral desire."(2)

This is rather a violent rendering of the old conceit.

The poem "Ai! quanto ò che vergongni, e che dolglia agio," written upon the occasion of Guittone's conversion, contains some interesting passages:

"Ché quanto à 'l perditore
Più mal, piacie peggiore;
Chè pur nel mal, lo qual for grato ofende,
Alcun rimedio om prende;
Ma mal gradivo ben tutto roina,
E non à medicina
Che sola la divina pietate."(3)

With regard to "perditore" Torracca makes the following comment:

"I codici hanno "prenditore." Ma che sia da leggere 'perditore' mi fa supporre il verso di Ovidio, Art. Am., 451: 'sic ne perdidit non cessat perdere lusor.' parafrasato da A. di Settimello, I., 207 - 8, e, pare, non dimenticato da' trovatori, cp. G.

(1) Carducci p. 40.

(2) Ibid. p. 41.

(3) Torracca: Man. p. 46.

Faiditz, S'om pogues, (st. 3) e A. de Pegulhan, "Atressim pren cum fai al iugador."

The genesis of the following lines is roughly as follows - if an illness gives discomfort, then it is possible to cure it, if it does not, then it ruins all and the only remedy possible is divine mercy. The ill referred to is of course worldly sin. In the subsequent stanza Guittone mentions as one of his past sins the fact that he wrote love-poetry, he warns all now, against reading his verses, they are to flee from them as a man flees before his enemy:

"Guai a me lasso, dico,
E quai a chi nemico
Ed omo matto crede, e segue legie
D'omo, ch'è senza legie!
Però fugga lo mio folle dir, como
Suo gran nemico, ogn' omo:
Ch'io 'l visto a tuti, e per malvasgio il casso."(1)

Later occurs a long parallel which is in substance an adaptation of the "Good Samaritan" story.

"Ed a voi non convene
Tornarmi adietro, né tenermi tale;
Ché se alcun bon sengnore un omo acolle
Malato e nudo e folle,
Al suo poder lo volle
A sanitate, a roba, ed a savere:
E s'el poi sa valere,
Di quanto val, la lauda è del sengnore:
Si come il disinore
Se, poi l'acoglie, lo schifa e tem manco.
E voi, Amor, pur acolto m'avete,
E de vostra masnada ormai sengnato;
Però mercé; le man vostre metete
Ne la zambra del figliuol vostro orato,

(1) Torraca p. 46.

"E me fornite a voi ben soficiente,
Chè non mancando, fornir pote ogn' omo."(1)

Later in the same poem he addresses divine love in terms which he would have used to an earthly mistress - the same phenomenon occurs frequently in troubadour poetry:

"O quando, quando, di masnada a corte,
E poi di corte a zambra, Amor meo, vengno?"(2)

The sonnet, "Ben saccio de vertà che' l meo trovare" has one figure. The obstacle which keeps the poet from attaining his goal, is like a closed door:

"E non departo da la porta stare,
Pregando che per deo mi degia aprere:
Allora alcuna voce audir mi pare
Dicendo me ch'eo sia di bon sofrere."(3)

The sonnet "Ben aggia ormai la fede e l'amor meo" has one allusion to the Arthurian Romances, on this occasion the reference is to Lancelot.

"Si come a Lancelotto omo simiglia
Un prode cavalier, simil se face
A lei, di fera donna a maraviglia."(4)

Attention may be drawn to the sonnet "Tutt' or ch'eo diro gioi', gioiva cosa," which constitutes a remarkable acrobatic feat. The word "gioia" occurs in every line but one.

The sonnet "Fero dolore e crudel pena e dura" affords one very strange figure, it concerns the conception of the poet's

(1) Torraca p. 46.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Carducci p. 249.

(4) Ibid. p. 250

lady:

"Non fo natura in voi poderosa,
Ma deo pensatamente, u' non è faglia,
Vi fe', com' fece Adams e sua sposa."(1)

The adverb "pensatamente" combined as it is with "deo" produces a remarkable effect.

It is interesting to find that Guittone can speak highly of woman in spite of the reproofs which he earlier saw fit to administer -

"Adunqua, il sampo e lo valor, ch'è l'omo,
Dala donna lo de' tener, si como
Tien lo scolaio dal suo mastro l'arte;"(2)

Notice the recurrence of the school figure.

The lady is referred to as "dea" from time to time, which like "imperadricie" is a recent innovation -

"Poi lei che' n terra è Dea
Di bieltà e d'onore,
E di tuto valore -"(3)

Moral allegory appears in a small form in a figure of the sea of life and of mountain and valley -

"Lengno quasi digiunto
È nostro core 'n mar d'ongni tempesta,
Ov' om pur fugie porto e chere scolgia,
E corre ver la morte ora no resta."(4)

"Ai! ch'è laido di gran morte valere,
Ed el falle fondare

(1) Carducci p. 251.

(2) D'Ancona & Comparetti vol. II., p. 149.

(3) Ibid. p. 252.

(4) Ibid. p. 272.

"Del valle ed ongne valle ed eternale,
 Sentina o tuto male!
 E ch'è bel d'esti val monte salire.
 E quel monte eternal d'ogni ben sommo,
 E d'esta vita vil grande partire!"(1)

but we experience no feeling of relief. Guittone's heavy hand wipes out the suggestion of perspective which the descriptions might otherwise have conveyed. The "Lengno disgiunto" distracts us from the running seas, the irritating rhyme pattern destroys the mountain landscape. Curiously enough, Guittone in person tells us what his views are about figures of rhetoric. In a never-ending and wearisome series of sonnets he discusses the conduct and deportment of a lover, offering him at one point the following advice:

1. "Chè quando vuol la sua donna laudare
 Le dicie ched è bella come fiore,
 E che di giema o ver di stella pare
 E che'n viso di grana ave colore."(2)

and it certainly shows that in the eyes of the Aretine poet figures were a mere convention or tradition. This opinion is certainly evident in his love-poetry where the rhetoric conceits are unbearably dull and monotonous. In the moral and polemic verse a vein of originality creeps in presumably because the comparisons are there chosen for their positive value as agents in an argument or explanation. Occasional bestial figures do occur from time to time in Guittone's poems, but they are slight on the whole, and sometimes the application is not very

(1) D'Ancona & Comparetti p. 279.

(2) Op. cit. vol. IV. p. 106.

clear. This is often the case, unfortunately; neither the Aretine nor his followers give particular care to the working out of a parallel. It seems impossible to tell why the dragon has been introduced into this passage -

"Ai d'alcio cosa! amaro ad opo meo,
Perchè taipino in voi tanto dottare?
Orso nom son nè leone, per deo,
Ma cosa che nom po nè sa mal fare.
Ma foste uno dragon, che nom penso eo,
Che vi farebe un angielo tornare
Lo cor beningno e la gram fede ch'eo
Agiò locata e missa in voi amare."(1)

One other typical beast figure is that of the tiger, but notice that Guittone does not give the usual fantastic tale:

"C'altri di me guerir non à valore,
Come que' ch'è dal tigro avelenato,
Che' n esso è lo veleno e lo dolore:"(2)

A remarkable instance of Guittone's utter lack of artistic sense is contained in this figure of the madman. It becomes almost ludicrous when we realise that the poet is speaking of himself. Indeed, it is a marvel that he has escaped the chastisement of Rustico Filippo's unscrupulous pen, unless he owes his escape to sheer worth of character. If there really existed a lady to whom Guittone addressed his poems, we imagine that a figure of this kind must have had the same effect upon her as Malvolio's cross garters on Olivia:

3. "C'omo inudo e dello senno fore
Or mira, come facie om che lo fede;

(1) Op. cit. vol. IV. p. 117

(2) Op. cit. vol. IV. p. 138.

"Cotal è quel cui ben distringie amore,
 Che d'ochi nè di cor punto non vede.
 Inudo sta e nom si può correre
 A dimostrar la sua gran malatia
 A lei che puote lui di ciò guerire;
 Onde chi 'l vede in sè cielar lo dia
 E contastarlo a chi 'l volesse dire,
 Per star cortese e fugir villania."(1)

It is unfair, I think, to judge the Aretine too harshly, because he had the difficult part to play of being a transition writer. Sometimes it is asserted that he hindered the progress of poetry, sometimes it is claimed that he accomplished real reform, but no one can doubt that he stands at the meeting of the ways. The last three quotations we wish to give, point to the unpropitious mingling of new and old, we find the beauty of Helen, the generosity of Alexander and the divine angel all in the storehouse of the same poet, the first two drag him back - the last leads him on.

4. "....., chè bieltà pare
 No li fue Alèna, quella c'amo Paro."(2)

6. "In ciascuavertù compiutamente,
 Quanto Alesandro re valse in donare,"(3)

"Ma s'eo non vado nè vengno nè membro
 Lo gran piacier piacente, amor, di voi
 C'angiol di Dio sembrate in ciascun membro;"(4)

In the poem "Tuttor s'eo veglio o dormo" Fra Guittone says:

"Scuro saccio che par lo
 Mio detto,"(5)

(1) Op. cit. p. 121
 (2) op. cit. vol. IV. p. 130.
 (3) Ibid. p. 158.
 (4) Op. cit. vol. V. p. 13.
 (5) Butler p. 85.

and we must admit that no more fitting adjective than "obscure" could be applied to his poems. Often I confess to have been utterly at a loss to comprehend the construction or the meaning. Thus it is not really possible to give a very just estimate of literary merits. The figures of speech have been rare, they have been characterised by their complete matter of fact tone, and their equally complete lack of lyric beauty. The remarkable fact from our point of view is that although Guittone was so great an admirer⁽¹⁾ of Provençal culture, his figures are not Provençal in character. Even in the love-poems we no longer find the familiar similes and metaphors - apart from the gold figure and the phoenix there is little else to point to the influence of Provençal, unless it be in the use of certain words. We find rather, a group of new figures, figures which we might term practical, for want of a better term, such comparisons as the war-horse and the hack, the peasant digging his field, the wind-mill, the school etc. The truth is that Guittone d'Arezzo does not use figures of speech from an esthetic point of view, but with the aim of pressing home a point which he wishes to make, or strengthening an argument. He is not a poet in the usual acceptance of this word, nor is he an artist. Therefore the rhetoric language of Provençal and Sicilian makes no appeal to him. Besides the little cluster of practical figures we find another type of metaphorical language which is inspired

(1) e.g. "Tu, frate mio, vero bon trovatore
 In piana ed in sotile rima e cara
 Ed in soavi e saggi e cari motti, (Lines on the
 Francesca lingua e proensal labore death of Gia-
 Più de l'artena è bene in te, che chiara como da
 La parlasti e trovasti in modi tutti." Leona) But.p99

without a doubt by the Bible and the liturgy, the connection is so obvious as hardly to deserve mention. Sometimes too, as we endeavoured to point out, the figures assume a philosophical and almost symbolical character, as for example in the parallel of the ship which has wisdom at the helm.

Guittone d'Arezzo reminds one forcibly of Marcabru and Giraut de Bornelh in their dullest moments. Bertoni too declares that when Guittone takes up religious, philosophical or moral subjects he becomes exceedingly wearisome: "Allora la frase gli si appesanti tra le mani e gli divenne gonfia e stentata in causa dei molti latinismi di vocabolario e di sintassi, di che si piacque adornarla."⁽¹⁾ At the same time we must not forget that Guittone d'Arezzo made a distinguished effort to lead poetry into "new paths," even although it remains questionable whether the new paths were worthy of exploration. It is the custom to compare him to Arnaut Daniel, but he lacks the scholarly mind and finesse of technique which must always distinguish the poetry of the latter. As regards the cultivation of the "trobar clus" however, it is patent that Arnaut Daniel was Guittone's master.

Among the many followers of Guittone was a small group of writers belonging to Pisa; Panuccio del Bagno, Galletto, Leonardo del Guallaco, Betto Mettifuoco, Pucciandone Martelli, Messer Bacone, Geri Giannini, Natuccio Cinguino, Lotto di Ser Dato, Nocco di Cenni, and Geronimo Terramagimo.

(1) 'Il duecento, Storia lett. d'It. ' p. 77.

Panuccio del Bagno has left more poetic material than any other member of the Pisan group, but its value is almost negligible, as Zaccagnini says "Panuccio è, tra i rimatori pisani, il più oscuro e il più artificioso: la sua poesia è tutta infarcita di forme e di reminiscenze provenzali."

In accordance with the tradition established by Guittone d'Arezzo, figures of speech are very rare - the fountain simile occurs:

1. " d'ogne vertude
Siete, u' si conchiude
Fontana" (1)
2. " pena gravosa
M'affonda ciascun' or, com' aigua in fonte,"(2)

We also find the typical light figure:

"Quasi como chiarezza in parte scura
Di foco chiaror rende,
Si m'ha chiarito 'l suo piagente viso;
Ché prima vista avesse mia dimora
Lei, che chiarezze stende
Era'n tenebre quasi in lor compreso;"(3)

The restlessness of the wave commends itself to Panuccio:

"Chè, sì com'è in mar l'onda,
No n'aggia posa, né d'alcun ben parte
A quella per cui son in sì rea parte."(4)

The stereotyped fire figure plays its part:

"E, come foco in legna
S'apprende, pianto in lui simel mainera,"(5)

(1) Rim. S - T. p. 145

(2) Op. cit. p. 154, cp. also p. 192.

(3) Op. cit. p. 147, cp. also p. 145.

(4) Op. cit. p. 150.

(5) Op. cit. p. 154.

A slight variety is afforded by an agricultural parallel like the "zappa" of Guittone and a quaint practical figure - a small cure will not heal a large wound.

1. "Seminato nel campo fer' han seme
E seme simel sé ciascun arende,
Und' è folle chi attende
Di seminato gran piggior che gioglio,
Perchè non tanto dolglio
Che frutto e seme cosa una fi' 'nseme."(1)
2. "Ché non ha valimento
Picciula cura gran piaga sanare,
Né poi pot' om' trovare
Guerenza in quello dal quale divia."(2)

The dart of love is not lacking(3) nor is the parallel from natural philosophy. Giacomo da Lentino's sonnet "Sicome il sol che manda la sua spera" may perhaps have suggested these lines:

"Cui amoroso isguardo,
De l'alma porto forma:
Come sol valca vetro,
Come figura isguardo,
Entrò 'n me en so' forma,
Cui segui mai non vetro;"(4)

The new "wheel" conception makes its appearance - on this occasion the world is compared to a wheel:

"Perchè di rota ha' l mondo simiglianza
Che non posanza - ha mai, ma va volgendo,
Saggio, temendo, - vive alto mutanza."(4)

An original touch of this kind shows itself from time to time and saves our Aretine poets from utter stupidity; but despite

(1) Op. cit. p. 161.

(2) Ibid. p. 167.

(3) p. 170.

(4) Op. cit. p. 174

(5)

these occasional gleams of wit their product is tedious to a degree. One never becomes reconciled to inartistic medleys of this kind:

"Piggioro stimo che morso di capra,
Ov' Amor fier d'artiglio e dà di becco;
Ché quasi sembro lui albore secco,
Quale 'n cui regni, e bene in lui non capra."(1)

The sea figure also is adapted:

"Passato ho 'l mar di mia vita angosciosa,
E te eletta sola ho per mio porto."(2)

Rhetoric language has lost its spontaneity. The few additional conceits are handled so clumsily that their virtue is greatly diminished.

Galletto is referred to by Dante in 'De Vulgari Eloquentia' I.13, along with Fra Guittone, Brunetto of Florence and others, as using only their local speech in poetry. He is addressed once in a poem by Fra Guittone and is said to have been a member of the Council of Lyons in 1275.

The canzone "Credea essere, lasso!" contains a number of rather odd figures, which are governed, we feel, largely by the rhyme system. The lady is not fairer than the lily now, she is whiter than rice, the lover burns for her more than wax and loses the power of laughter!

"Ed eo ponendo mente
La vostra bella ciera,
Ch'è bianca più che riso,

(1) Op. cit. p. 177.

(2) Ibid. p. 179.

"~~Per~~istemi alla mente,
 Ond' ardo più che ciera;
 Levastemi lo riso."⁽¹⁾

Even at Rome there is none to equal the poet's lady, the light of her beauty has pierced his heart:

"Volea veder, non pare
 Nessuna donna roma (= profumata)
 Quanto voi bella sia;
 Non trovai vostra pare,
 Ciercato infino a Roma;
 Grazia e merzè vi sia.
 Le vostre bieltà sole
 Che lucon più che sole
 M'anno d'amore punto,
 Ch'io n'era sordo e muto;"⁽²⁾

His heart with sudden agility leaps to his lady's feet, his peace of mind is gone and he is hampered as by a mountain saddle, he tries to climb upward but cannot for her love sends him from the mountain to the plain.

"Lo meo cor non fa fallo,
 Se da me si departe
 E salesi in voi al pè;
 Ma mio conforto fallo,
 Non è'n loco nè in parte
 E come arcione in alpe
 M'à più legato e serra;
 E poi mi talglia e serra,
 E non vol ch'io sormonte.
 Lo vostro amor che colpa
 A meve senza colpa
 Fa m'esser pian di monte."⁽³⁾

After this remarkable piece of composition the poet closes with a pun on his own name, he describes himself swaggering like a

(1) Butler p. 55.
 (2) Ibid. pp. 55 - 56.
 (3) Ibid. p. 56.

heath-cock.

"Di bella donna gallo,
 Como perdice gallo,
 C'a ciascun ne do matto." (1)

The last words are a term from chess, but the idea of check-mating could hardly be called a figure. The poem "In alta donna
 ò mizo mia 'ntendansa" lacks the quaint originality of the foregoing piece. It contains only one figure - that of service, which we shall not quote.

Leonardo del Guallaco retains his identity merely through the existence of a "serventese" dealing with the dangers of love. It contains several figures, but that original note which has passed from Guittone to Galletto, continues here.

Thus, in the opening lines we find the familiar fish simile but at Pisa the fish is taken with a net - not a hook:

"Si come il pescio a nasso
 Ch'è preso a falsa parte
 Son quei c'amar s'adanno;
 Peggior gittan che lasso." (2)

Then follows a list of those for whom love meant disaster, but as there is no name which excites comment we shall not discuss the passage. Stanza III. brings us a new word and a novel idea.

"Chi vuol da lor campare,
 Tagli la lor paroma
 Ch'è piena di falsia,

(1) Butler p. 56.

(2) Ibid.

"Che 'nfin che può atrapare
 Allor può dir c'a Roma
 Credi vogar 'n Asia."(1)

"Paroma" is explained by Baretto as meaning one of the yard-ropes of a ship. The lines which follow are somewhat obscure but the main idea seems to be, that a man in love is capable of imagining himself on the way to Asia when he is merely in Rome.

Stanza IV. has a trifling comparison to a fish, then in Stanza V. there comes a puzzling reference:

"La chiara aira fue scura
 A giglio fiore ed asmondo,
 La lor detto falso agio,
 E chi vi s'asicura
 Guardino a quei, c'al mondo
 Vedran d'amor lo saggio."(2)

The lines are annotated as follows: "The allusion in these lines is evidently to some incident in one of the romances, in which the course of true love did not run smooth. The first line, "the light of day was darkened to the lovers," I take to mean that their fate was like that of Paolo and Francesca..... Who the lovers were I have not been able to discover. etc."(3) Notice, however, that there is no word for "lovers" in the first line and that the words "giglio fiore" and "asmondo" are written with small letters. The succeeding lines contain the comparison of dull or unpolished gold, the unusual character of the epithet was suggested entirely, one feels, by the rhyme scheme:

(1) Butler p. 57.

(2) Ibid. p. 58.

(3) Op. cit. p. 197.

"Serventes, a dir esto,
 Va, che per servo i' resto,
 Più puro c'auro matto,
 Aquei c'a nom di Gallo;"(1)

In the last stanza occurs the familiar expression "a mal porto" and at the same time a comparison to the tercelet or young falcon; the poet has learned from the latter how to conduct himself:

"Qual uomo è d'amor preso
 Arrivat' è a mal porto,
 Allor non è 'n sua baglia.
 Dal terzoletto ò apreso,
 A sua guisa mi porto,
 S'alcuna mi s'inbaglia."(2)

Of Betto Mettifuoco no record has been left. His style places him among the earlier Pisans. His most substantial figure is a parallel taken from the story of the old man of the mountains:

"Madonna, penso forte
 De la mia natura,
 Che passa l'asesino
 Del veglio de la montagna disperato,
 Che per mettersi a morte
 Passa (sse) in avventura;
 E gli così latino,
 Non gli è grassoso ch' egli è ingannato;
 Che 'l veglio a lo 'mprimero
 Lo tene in bel verbero,
 E falli parer che sia
 Quel che fa notte e dia di bon core;
 Ma io ched ò veduto
 Lo mondo, e conosciuto,
 Agio ferma credenza
 Che la vostra potenza sia maggiore."(3)

This figure is the fullest account of the story which has appeared so far. Notice in the last few lines, the skilful way in

(1) Butler p. 58.

(3) Butler p. 60.

(2) Ibid.

which is described the effects of the hashish with which the Assassins were drugged. In the same poem we find the familiar figure of the "malady of love," which occurs from time to time both in Provençal and Sicilian texts:

"Dunqua como faragio?
 Poi la mia malatia
 Non l'auso adimustrare
 A chi mi può guerere e far gioioso." (1)

Pucciandone Martelli is addressed in one of the letters of Fra Guittone, otherwise nothing is known about him. Monaci gives none of his poems, Butler gives one, and in this one poem the chief interest centres in the use of a word which will gradually become more common. In the second stanza of the ballad Pucciandone says:

"La vostra angelicale sembianza,"

So far as I know, for I speak under correction, this is the first occurrence of such a term. It shows once more how the language of philosophy is gradually filtering into the world of poetry. The Sicilians taught us to use "spirit" and "thought" Fra Guittone speaks of schools and philosophers, of knowledge and understanding, Pucciandone introduces the conception of the angels. It is not our province to deal in full with this subject. It is sufficient to remind ourselves that St. Thomas of Aquinas evolved an Angelology which is in part original and in part a compromise between the summary of Pseudo-Dionysius and

(1) Butler p. 60.

the statements in the Bible. The angels are the heralds and messengers of God coming immediately below Him. They are the pure intelligences by whom the spheres move, they are graded according to their degree of knowledge. Without the angels the system of the universe would be incomplete. The discussion of these and similar facts was familiar to all who frequented the schools and it is not surprising to find in lyrical poetry ideas of a like nature.

Curiously enough, the succeeding stanza shows the time-worn fire figure - the old elements and the new are now appearing side by side.

"Entr' allo cor m'entrao con tal dolzore
Lo primo sguardo di voi, donna mia,
Che m'infiammao di tanto fino amore,
Che monta in me così ciascuna dia;"(1)

In the "Rimatori Siculo-Toscani" a few additional poems are given, but the figures there do not afford any more valuable material. On p. 189 occurs the figure of gold-refining, followed later by an original figure - that of a man on a journey, concealing the time from his companion:

".....D'ella faccio
Non folle pensare a star selvaggio,
Di lei nascosamente,
Che mi diven com' omo che camina,
Che cela l'ora a tal che seco mina."(2)

On p. 191 there is a somewhat inartistic version of the flower

Butler p. 119.

(2) Rim. S-T p. 189.

and fruit figure. The poet introduces the factor of wind. The lady is to be the tree and the wind at the same time - one is constantly amazed at the clumsiness of these central Italian poets.

"Talor mostranza faitemi 'n servire,
Ma non pote granire,
Si come fior che vento lo disvia.
L'albor e'l vento siete veramente,
Ché faite 'l fior, potetelo granare,
Poi faitelo fallare
E vana divenir la mia speranza."(1)

The only other conceit worthy of note is a very commonplace storm comparison:

"Amor, poi ch'a madonna tormentare
Mi fai come lo mare,
Quando di gran tempesta,
A la nave non resta
Di dar gravoso afanno,
Altrui non aggio, cui mi richiamare,
Se non te, che scampare
Mi puoi d'esta molesta
E darmi gioia e festa
Di tutto lo meo danno;"(2)

Messer Bacone we know through a letter of Guittone's. He has left a few compositions of a moralising tone. These two only figurative passages are very typical of his general style. Foolish lovers put their faith in things as frail as a spider's web, with such a sail they set off on the sea of life:

"Non venosi gecchiti di laudare
Il folle e vano amor, d'ogni ben nudo,

(1) Op. cit. p. 191.

(2) Ibid. p. 193.

"Li matti che si covren del su' scudo,
 Il qual manch'è che di ragnuolo tela
 E che li porta isportando a vela.
 Mettonsi 'n mar, creden giunger a porto;
 Poi s'è che nel pereggio gli have accorto,
 Alma fa, corpo e aver, tutto affondare."(1)

The other passage is one of common sense logic - not very interesting and not very clear:

"Fòr di man petra, e di bocca parola,
 D'arco gaetta, scòla
 No è di saver tal, che' l penter poi
 Vaglia ad altroi
 In guis' alcuna mostrar possa 'l vero.
 Non in tal srei, se ciò fusse, dispero;
 Ma molto fôra clero
 Che mi varrea, però che 'n cielo stelle,
 Né 'n mar candelle
 D'aigua, quant' eo, no ha in tal penterò."(2)

Lotto de Ser Dato has left two canzoni the second of which proves him to have been a Pisan Guelf, otherwise we know nothing of him. His first poem is not so arid as many of the other Pisan productions, it is of lighter calibre. It contains occasional suggestions of figures, e.g. "Fior di belta" and one light comparison:

"Tanta bellezza menten lo suo viso
 Con si lucente chiarezza inaurato,
 Che la sua cera par d'angel provato."(3)

Nocco di Cenni di Frediano was probably a notary of Pisa. He has left but one canzone which contains a full, but rather confused, figure. It is, in short, an allegorical treatment of

(1) Rim' S-T p. 196.

(2) Op. cit. p. 202.

(3) Op. cit. p. 214.

the usual tree and fruit image:

"Siccome l'albor pò far ch'è silvaggio
 Frutto per sua natura
 Mai bon per sè tanto di su' lignaggio,
 Se non che 'nsetatura
 Ched è lui fatta, 'l'ha el notrica;
 Donque non per sè mica
 Lo fa ma su' calor; nasce 'l fior pria,
 Unde poi 'l frutto vene:
 Cusì giammai eo non pòria mostrare
 Ch'avesse gioi' ne bene,
 Mentre voi, donna, mi faceste stare.
 Com' ora, 'n tante pene;
 Ma datemi pur tanto un solo ramo
 Di quel frutto ch'eo bramo:
 Vedrete in gioi' montarmi e'n frutto bono,
 Com' om c'ha gioi s'attene."(1)

Ciolo della Barba also a Pisan has left one canzone. It contains once more the wheel of fortune:

3 "Chè se Ventura de rota ha fermezza
 In de l'altezza - di voi che mostrate,
 In ciò considerate - ch'io son vostro,
 Più che nel mio cantare non vi mostro."(2)

also an original little figure of a herring going up-stream:

"Potendomi salire - se v'è 'n plagenza,
 Come l'aringhe fan contro a corenza."(3)

Geri Giannini, Natuccio Cinquino and Geronimo Terramagino have left no figures.

From this point the problem of arrangement becomes an almost insoluble one. We have a curious company of poets whose identity it is impossible to fix and who have left very few

(1) Op. cit. p. 220.

(2) Op. cit. p. 185.

(3) Op. cit. p. 186.

poems. Unlike the Sicilians and the troubadours these central Italians do not preserve their individuality. With apologies therefore for what must be a somewhat tedious list, we shall bring forward the various names in turn, closing with a fuller treatment of Bonagiunta da Lucca and Chiaro Davanzati who are writers of an entirely different stamp.

Folcachieri di Siena, occasionally mentioned in the archives of Florence, appears to have been dead by 1260. His family must originally have come from Forcalquier in Provence. He has left one poem only, justly appreciated on account of its rush of sincere feeling. The language is not on the whole figurative,

"Nom paiono li fiori
Per me, com già soleano,
E gli auscielli per amore
Dolzi versi faceano agli albori."(1)

The above lines afford that graceful lyric touch which we have found so utterly wanting in the central Italians - it is indeed a welcome relief. Later he says:

"La gente mi riguardano parlando
S'io son quel ch'esser solglio."

and notice that this conception of people looking, pointing and wondering, is becoming almost a poetic convention. As we have seen, the idea is quite peculiar to the doctrinal school, and

(1) Butler p. 49.

possibly owes its origin to the fact that poetry is now a product of the towns, not of the court. Indeed, we might almost say that the "gabbare" and "mostrare a dito" are symbolical of the rôle that public opinion must play in this changed sphere of literature, just as in the popular poetry of Bologna we find the "neighbours" entering on the scene. In Sicilian popular poetry this word does not occur, because presumably the annoyance of prying neighbours did not exist.

In stanza IV. the poet gives us his proof that love exists, and he employs the term "deo" - notice that this expression which occurred very rarely in Provençal is becoming frequent in Italian.

"Io credo bene che l'amore sia;
 Altro deo non m'è già a giudicare
 Cosè crudelmente
 Chè l'amor e di tale sengnoria
 Che le due parti a se vole tirare,
 E 'l terzo è de la giente." (1)

The word "sengnorià" is now sinking to the same place as the expression "in baillia." Feudal terms are becoming generic.

Puccio Bellondi in one poem gives a most remarkable collection of figures, but again, as we have had occasion to note, we must thank the rhyme quite frequently for introducing the image!

The poem begins with a description of the birds, "wheeling" and rising, like the soaring spirits of the poet; this leads us to the wheel of Fortune, at the top of which the poet stands.

(1) Butler p. 49.

Both these figures are quite original, in the sense, at least, they have not been used before by Provençals or Italians:

"Come per diletanza
Vanno gli ausgelli a rota
E montano 'n altura
Quand 'è il tempo in chiarezza;
Così per allegrezza
Mi porto, poi la rota
Che gira la Ventura
Mi mena in sua alteza,
Per la bella che miro,
Che mi rende lo sguardo
Di sè fina sembianza
Ca per certanza aver mi par d'amore."(1)

But the conclusion of the stanza takes us back again to the realm of Provençal imagery:

"E non dona martiro
Lo 'namorato dardo
Che trage per amanza,
Ma la 'ntendenza afina in fra lo core."(2)

Stanza II. is entirely figurative. It opens with the image of light striking the marguerite, this passes into the star-image, but the essence of the whole passage is the potency of light.

"Purificami il core
La sua vista amorosa,
Si come fa la spera
Del sol la margherita,
Che già non ha splendore
Ned è vertudiosa,
In fin che la lumera
Del sol noll' ha ferita.
Così, feruto essendo
Del suo chiaro sguardare,
Che par che luce espanda

(1) Carducci p. 37.

(2) Ibid.

"Com'a la randa del giorno la stella,
 Vertù d'amar ne prendo;
 Poi de lo 'namorare
 Amorosa ghirlanda
 Amor comanda ch'io aggia per ella."(1)

Light images are in the tradition of courtly love poetry but Puccio has transformed his example by introducing the beautiful marguerite simile.

Stanza III. contains the "mirror" parallel, one for which the Italians have always had a predilection:

"E sè gli occhi ne formo:
 Come omo a lo specchio
 Si vede afigurato,
 Così il suo stato paremi vedere."(2)

But in stanza IV. we are once more confronted with new material. There is a very beautiful description of blue sky showing in the east at dawn, and then we come upon a daring and surprising conceit, the lady's power over Puccio gives him such strength that he could ride across the world and lead the sky on his right hand. The dramatic quality of the verse is astounding, and the bold originality of the ideas is proof positive that the Italian genius is asserting itself and tending to discard its borrowed plumes.

It is interesting to see in "menor a destro" a trace of the usage to which we referred in dealing with the origin of "destrier."

In the last stanza we find the figure of blossom and seed

(1) Carducci p. 37.

(2) Ibid.

which we had occasion to discuss in dealing with Giacomo da Lentino; then comes the lode-stone figure with which we are well acquainted:

"Amor, signor possente,
Per vostra virtù sia
Ch'eo placcia a la sovrana
Com' ha lei in placimento;
Ché naturalmente
Di due piacer si cria
La gioi' che flora e grana
De lo 'namoramento:
Ed eo ciò disiando,
Meg core in quella parte
Piu sovente mi tira
Che non si gira l'ago a calamita:"(1)

Altogether Puccio Bellondi is an interesting personality whose writing shows flashes of real genius.

Guglielmo Beroardi was a judge and notary of Florence. His name appears as a signature of the peace treaty between Florence and Pisa in 1256. In 1260 he was sent as an ambassador to Manfred by the Ghibellines of Florence. He has left one canzone of which the figures are not outstanding: the first is perhaps new in form, but it is so slight as to be of little importance:

"Ed a gli occhi m'abonda
Le lagrime com' onda de lo mare."(2)

The fire figure occurs in stanza II. and the "coco" which it entails, introduces almost a popular note:

(1) Carducci p. 38.

(2) Ibid. p. 43.

"Ond' eo sono 'n tal foco
Che tutto incendio e coco, sì mi grava."(1)

Stanza IV. contains two figures. The first is interesting because it employs the word "imperadrice," a term which poets do not readily use. "Imperador" is frequently met with, but I can recall no example of its feminine application.* Again, I believe it is suggested by the rhyme. The second figure is that of the phoenix:

"Gioia de la sovrana,
De li splendor vernice,
Che 'nperadrice sembra, tant 'è bella,
Aspetto prossimana;
E sà com' omo dice
De la fenice che si rinovella
In foco, eo così faccio,
Che 'n fiamma e 'n pena e 'n ghiaccio mi rinnovo:
Di gioi' canto e poi taccio;
Le vie d'amor ch'eo saccio tutte provo."(2)

Brunetto Latini the famous author of the "Tesoretto" has left one canzone - "S'eo son distretto inamoratamente." In the second stanza of this poem the flower metaphor is coupled with that of the sweet smelling apple, which is certainly an original touch, it gives way almost at once to the phoenix comparison:

"Anzi mi sforzo ogn' ora di servire
Lo bianco fiore auliso, pome aulente,
Che nova ciascun anno
La gran bieltate e lo gaio avenire:
Così mi fa parire
Fenice veramente,
Ch'ella similmente
È sola, e poi rinnova suo valire."(3)

(1) Carducci p. 43.

(2) Ibid. p. 43.

(3) Ibid. p. 44.

* i.e. in poets of the Provençal or Sicilian Schools
cp. p. 374 this section.

In stanza III. we find a version of the stag figure:

"Per tanto mi sconforto coralmente
Che ne riciepo ingauno,
Poi m'è lontano ov' eo non posso gire:
Ma vo' seguir lo cervio umilement,
Che poi conquiso l'hauno,
A' cacciator ritorna per morire." (1)

The last stanza presents once more the favourite sea figure.

It will be remembered that "spannare" is used first by Pier del-
la Vigna:

"Vattene, canzonetta mia piagente,
A quei che canteranno
Pietosamente de lo meo dolire;
E di' che 'n mare frango malamente,
Ma contro a tempo spanno,
Ch'al diritto porto non posso tenere:" (2)

A little anonymous poem shows in a peculiarly significant manner the change which has come over the nature of poetry.

The poet begins thus-

"Con gran disio pensando lungamente"

and this opening line testifies to the new quality in style.

As we said in dealing with the Italian troubadours, this tendency to reflection appears to be peculiar to the Italians. In the doctrinal school it becomes a force to be reckoned with. Our poet then is thinking about the nature of love and though he uses the Provençal conceit of flower and fruit his changed attitude of mind shows itself in the use of the word "pensieri."

(1) Carducci p. 44.

(2) Ibid.

"Ché, poi ch'om guarda cosa di talento,
 Al cor pensieri abonda,
 E cresce con disio immantenente;
 E poi dirittamente
 Fiorisce e mena frutto.
 Però mi sento isdutto:
 L'amor, crescendo, fiori e foglie ha messe,
 E ven la mèsse, e'l frutto non ricoglio."(1)

Jacopo da Leona has left a few sonnets, in one of which occurs the following quaint little figure:

"Mai non m'inganneran più vostre voglie
 E'l vostro cor legger, ch'è in voi assiso
 Sì come sono in albero le foglie."(2)

His chief interest lies in the fact that Guittone d'Arezzo thought so highly of his attainments. We had occasion earlier to refer to the lines written upon his death, where he is termed "vero bon trovatore" and commended upon his knowledge of French and Provençal.

Monte Andrea of Firenze was a contemporary of Fra Guittone and Chiaro Davanzati as is shown by his collaboration in certain tenzoni. He is perhaps more truly a disciple of the Aretine than any of the foregoing poets, though his style is less obscure. He is probably best known through his sonnet:

"I' prendo l'arme a difender l'Amore.
 Però si guardi chi gli ha fatto ofesa:"

but he has left a great many ~~of his~~ compositions and although these are not on the whole figurative we are left with a sur-

(1) I have since found that this poem is usually attributed to Guido Guinizelli, so that these remarks are really valueless.
 (2) Carducci p. 252.

prising number of examples at the end of our investigations. There are a number of figures which savour strongly of Provençal influence. We find the ideas of the fount, of gold in the furnace, of the fire of love.

"Di cortesia siete fonte veracie,"

"Sicome l'auro afina im fornacie,
Tengno afinato chi voi tutto si dona."(1)

"Radicie e pome, fontana amorosa,
Per cui s'avanza ongni nobilitate,
La fama del valore in voi si posa,
Belleze, cortesia, senno e bontate."(2)

"Cà 'm sì periglioso foco m'ai condotto,
Che nè fiore nè frutto
Per me nom par nè folglia:
Ma sto in disparte dala luciente spera
E pur sofrango im pene:"(3)

"Nel core agio uno foco,
Lo quale me consuma:"(4)

The typical heart passage makes its bow, along with the "god of love" and other conventional vocabulary, but notice that at the same time we find the "angelica figura" of the new movement:

"E ciascun membro m'à di voi incarnato
Lo dio d'Amore, che mi porta e mena
E'n amorosa volglia mi conducie,
Di voi che siete del mio cor la lucie:"(5)

".....angelica figura"(6)

".....ma 'l cor merzè pur chede
A voi, che siete di lui guidatore:
Co' meco non è già, con voi soggiorna
Ed in vostra presgion è a tute l'ore:"(7)

(1) D'Ancona e Comparetti
vol. IV. p. 307.

(2) Op. cit. p. 302.

(3) Op. cit. III. p. 228.

(4) Op. cit. III. p. 231.

(5) Op. cit. IV. p. 297.

(6) Op. cit. IV. p. 298.

(7) Op. cit. IV. p. 303.

References to proper names are also traditional, but their number is very restricted. Merlin and Solomon find themselves twice in each other's company, Aristotle is mentioned, and last the "savage man" without whom no poetic equipment would now be complete:

"Ora agiate sofrenza
D'orgoglio far partenza,
Chè Troia andò im perdizione,
Mirllino e Solamone;
Però nom fa mateza
Chi siegue del castoro sua prodeza."(1)

"Ki di me conosciente è, a rasgione
Più c'Aristotol senno lui comsento,
O che 'n Merlino o che 'n Salamone:
Non credo sia 'n alcun tal sennamento."(2)

"Ma sì faragio
Com' om salvagio,(3)
Ch'aspetragio
Tempo ed istagione
Averto al mio talento
.....
Non sia diviso
Nè comquiso
Dal paradiso,
Ch'è del mio cor lumera."(4)

The mirror figure appears also:

"Sicome ciascun omo può sua figura
Vedere, lo quale ne lo specchio si mira,
Similmente voria ca per natura
D'ogn' omo, la ove sua opera tira,
O'm bene o'm male si ciernisse pura,
Guardando in viso, poi saria fuori d'ira;"(5)

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- (1) Op. cit. IV. p. 341.
 (2) Op. cit. IV. p. 346.
 (3) This "savage man" is late appearance, it is only used by the troubadours of the decadent period e.g. Amamien de Sescas (Ray. V. 20), Raimon Jordan (Mähne, *Gedichte* 786,4) etc.
 (4) Op. cit. III. p. 237.
 (5) Monaci p. 275.

Monte Andrea has a special liking for the image of the chain or bonds of love, he uses it on several occasions:

"Amor, che m'ài e tenemi im presgione
Ed àmi di tale catena legato,
Cad io per me nom posso essere atato,"(1)

"Poi sì son priso
Im forte e doloroso laccio,"(2)

"Sì m'ài legato Amor, quanto più tiro
Più si distringie e ~~raferma~~ il nodo:
Sono ala colla e pato tal martiro
Che tutti nulla fuor di quanti io n'odo."(3)

"C'Amor legato m'ài di tal catena
C'ongn' altro amante n'agio d'eror tratto.
Sì come il ferro si puliscie a mena,
Così pulificato ò loro affatto
De' mal d'amor, ch'io son que' che li mena:"(4)

There are a number of animal figures, including those of the bestiaries and others of a general character. It is interesting to find two instances of a "kite" parallel.

"Ma ben vorìa contrafar fenicie,
Ch'amor mi senisura"(5)

"Àmi sì preso, che fo com' el ciervo
Che vèr lo cacciatore,
Quando ode il suo rumore
A lui va im quella parte
Ond' egli à morte, ed i' cotal via servo."(6)

"Chè più ch'el pescie al' amo
Amore m'ài im balia:"(7)

"Chè si vede il leone,
Che sua potenza pone
E sua grande fereza
Im basso per uniliata pronteza."(8)

(1) D'Ancona e Comparetti III. p. 226 - 7.

(2) Op. cit. III. p. 233, cp. also p. 237.

(3) Op. cit. IV. p. 226., also chain of love, p. 226.

(4) Op. cit. IV. p. 221.

(5) Op. cit. III. p. 226.

(7) Op. cit. p. 232.

(6) Op. cit. p. 227.

(8) Op. cit. III. p. 339.

"Chè nullo avria difenza,
 Ma in tutto perdenza
 Incontro alo dragone,
 Se d'uno oppenione
 E di vera arditeza
 Fossor le teste, tant' avria forteza."(1)

"Chè se gli ausgielli àn temenza
 E mostrano dolglienza
 Del falco rudione,
 Non è per tradisgione,
 Ne per sua vileza;
 Ma natural vertù ne fa cierteza."(2)

"Là ove il poder d'amor si mostra o sparga
 Couvien che porga tal suono sua tromba,
 Chi vi tromba - nom po' dir come 'l vibio."(3)

The second "kite" figure occurs in the poem "Ai doloroso, **lasso!**
 più nom posso." It is a brief simile:

"Poi d'esta morte faccio come il **nibio**."(4)

Marcabru is the only troubadour who uses the image, but there
 is a full adaptation of it in Ruggerone da Palermo.(5) Monte
 Andrea has a preference for nautical figures and he employs them
 well. Sometimes he describes a storm, he may bring in the
 lode-stone, or else the guiding star:

"Di che nave talore giunta a porto
 Di gran tempesta pere e va a fondo;
 Così d'amor poriano aver lo pondo."(6)

The word "pondo" presents some difficulty. The poetic meaning

(1) D'Ancona e Comparetti III. p. 339.

(2) Op. cit. III. p. 340.

(3) Op. cit. IV. p. 386.

(4) Monaci p. 277.

(5) Monaci p. 77.

(6) Monaci p. 278.

of the word is "weight" - I do not see how this could be accepted in the present passage.

"Così amor condotto m'ha a reo passo,
Ed in mar tempestoso messo m'ave,
Che mi trae a sè, com' ferro calamita:"(1)

"Sono al perire,
Com' om ch'è sicuro
Va a mare ed è al perire:"(2)

"Perdut' agio diporto,
E gioia ed alegranza,
Com' om ch'è 'n mare a fondo,"(3)

The last two examples are of a superior type. Our poet shows himself capable of sustained metaphor.

"Sicome i marinar guida la stella,
Che per lui ciascun prende suo viaggio,
E chi per sua follia si parte d'ella
Radoppia tostamente suo danagio;
La mia dritta lumera qual è-? Quella
Che guida in terra me e'l mi? coragio?
Voi, gentile e amorosa pulzella,"(4)

"Poichè 'l ferro la calamità sagia
Vêr la stella diriza mantenenente,
E se stella per scuritate c'agia
Si ciela, già nom parte di neiente:
Così, madonna, mostrandovi salvagia
Da me, cielando vostra fazon piagiante,
Non v'ascondete sì ched io non agia
Algli ochi vostra figura presente."(5)

The great majority of these figures, are obviously Provençal in tone, many of them are trite and commonplace, some are well hand-

(1) D'Ancona e Comparetti III. p. 228, cp. p. 238.

(2) Op. cit. p. 234.

(3) Op. cit. III. p. 234.

(4) Op. cit. IV. p. 346.

(5) Op. cit. V.

led others are very ordinary. There is little in Monte Andrea's poetry to excite remark. We do see from time to time gleams of a new spirit. A very fine light figure shows what our poet could be capable of if he were freed from traditional restrictions:

"Di cui m'è messo amore im sengnoragio:
 Chè troppo è scura la mia vita e fella
 A gir, se vostra lumera non agio:
 La qual fa' disparere ongn' altra lucie,
 Chè là ove apar vostro angielico viso
 Altro sprendor giamai non vi rilucie.
 Pulzella, poi m'avete sà comquiso,
 Che sol per voi mia vita si conduce,
 Merzè, dal vostro amor non sia diviso."(1)

while stray expressions point to the growth of a new conception of love; the idea of nobility of heart, and the divine elevation of madonna are significant details.

"Qui son fermo che 'l gientil core è largo
 Di sua potenza Amore è la porta:"(2)

".....D'angiel sembianza"(3)

"O angiola siate di divina altura"(4)

"...Angielico viso"(5)

We even come across a very depressing picture of love which forecasts in a sense, the melancholy of Gianni Alfani and Guido Cavalcanti:

(1) D'Ancona e Comparetti V.

(1) Op. cit. V. p. 115.

(3) Op. cit. V. p. 169.

(4) Op. cit. V. p. 170.

(5) Op. cit. V. p. 171.

"Chi dir volesse: 'amor di che si pascie?'
 Rispondo: 'di dolore e di martiri,
 Di pensieri e d'afanni e di sospiri.
 Tenemi im foco, con ardenti vape
 Maninconia; ira con tuti guai,
 Tempesta, pena un' ora non mi lascia;"(1)

The wheel of fortune opens the way for a few figures in which the poet has allowed his ingenuity full play. He is following his master Guittone d'Arezzo in seeking new and original figures.

"Chè pietate in voi tanta trovai,
 Che meve im su la rota di ventura
 In tale alteza coronar dengnaste;
 Per ch'io sovr' ongn' amante fui gioioso,
 Sì amorosa gioia ~~mi~~ donaste.
 Or dela rota son nel tutto gioso:
 Mia vita è morte se mi desdengnaste
 Ch'io non tornasse i' loco si amoroso."(2)

Here, for example, is one of those childish appeals to common-sense which are becoming a characteristic of the Tuscan school. If you strike a naked man with a knife, a small blow will be sufficient to kill him; Monte himself would never do a thing of this kind, for he is the anvil of every hammer. Apparently our poet was going through a period of unpopularity:

"L'omo nudo chi 'l fere di coltello
 Di picciol colpo può divenir morto:
 Ed io nom son que' che rasembri quello
 Di dar tal colpo c'averei il torto;
 Ch'io son l'~~ancudine~~ d'ogni martello:
 Pur sia qual vole del picchiare a orto."(3)

There are two more "common-sense" images. If water spreads

(1) Monaci p. 276.

(2) D'Ancona e Comparetti V. p. 173.

(3) Op. cit. IV. p. 347.

out over a large area, the current will lose its force; again anyone who tries to fly without wings will have a very painful excursion.

"Ch'io fo' com' acqua, quando vien be' larga,
Convien per forza che la sua potenza
In molti parti si dimostri e sparga."(1)

"Ben saccio, Amor, chi senza l'ale vola
Che doloroso saria' suo viaggio;
Così chi sè non coregie a tua scola
Sempre 'n amar radoppia suo danagio."(2)

A trace of French influence is apparent in one allegorical poem. The poet describes a very beautiful garden, which calls to mind the Roman de la Rose. Then he goes on to tell us of an apple in this orchard fairer than a shining sun. The delights of this garden are untold, the poet leaves it with thoughtful step - this last touch is particularly pleasing. On the whole, the composition shows Monte Andrea in his happiest mood, and provides a grateful change from the monotonous plain of the Tuscan lyric.

"Ch'io nel giardino
Aulente e fino
Dalo matino
Istesse dal' un canto,
Laov' è quel dolze fiore,
Fresco ed amoroso
Che tutor per amare
A me fa star gioioso."(3)

(1) D'Ancona è Comparetti V. p. 178.

(2) Op. cit! V.

(3) Op. cit. III. pp. 235 - 6.

"Ma nom per nome,
 Che v'à un pome
 Lo qual ~~mi~~ tiene in gioco
 E donami conforto,
 Tant' è fresco e piagiante
 Lo pome di quell' orto,
 Che è più ch'el sol luciente.
 Dami valore
 Lo suo splendore,
 Tant' è il dolzore
 Che'm quello pome rengna.
 Più m'è a piacere
 Tal pome avere
 Al mio volere,
 Altro il mio cor non degna.
 Sempre sto im pensamento
 Quando dal giardino mi parto,
 Tant' è lo godimento
 Che dentro v'è disparto."(1)

A certain Ser Pace gives the old-established fire-figure:

"Quando la veggio, un ardor mi rassembra
 D'un foco e d'una fiamma delicata
 Che'l cor m'ha preso tanto ch'eo tutt' ardo."(2)

He can lace together a succession of epithetical figures in the style of Arnaut de Mareuil:

"Vertù di pietre aver, d'auro ricchezze,
 Luce di sole e son di fermamento,
 Grazie d'amici e di reame altezze,
 Venus d'amore avere al meo talento etc."(3)

Notice the appearance of Venus. I cannot recall any previous mention of the name.

A certain Migliore da Firenze gazes so hard at the sun that

(1) D'Ancona e Comparetti III. p. 236.

(2) Carducci p. 259.

(3) Ibid.

everything seems to partake of its nature. Apparently he is not thinking of the optical effects which occurred to Shakespeare - "The sun hath so bedazzled mine eyes that everything I look on seemeth green."

"Amor s'eo parto, il cor si parte e dole,
E vuol disamorare ed inamora:
Tant' ho guardato al raggio de lo sole
Che ciò ch'io veggio par di sua natura."(1)

One, Noffo Bonaguidi brings us very near to the "dolce stil nuovo" when he says "Ispirito d'amor con intelletto," while Grazio-lo da Firenze is still writing of the eyes being the heart's messengers and his lady being a shining star."(2)

Giovanni dall' Orto seems to wish to puzzle us by talking of "uccel fenis" in his octave and "lo fenice" in the sestet. The phoenix too, now sings like the dying swan - is not this a new accomplishment?

"L'uccel fenis, quando vene al morire,
Dice la gente che fa dolce canto:
Ed è gran meraviglia, a lo ver dire,
De la cosa cantare onde vien pianto.
.....
Or avvenisse a me come addovene
A lo fenice che more cantando,
E morendo in sé stesso si riface!
Se lo foco d'Amore, che me tene
Aucidendo, mi gesse recriando,
Sofferria da l'Amor la morte in pace."(3)

Two anonymous sonnets evolve a new and picturesque idea. Love

(1) Carducci p. 260.

(2) Cp. Carducci pp. 260 - 261.

(3) Carducci p. 261.

is like a strong rock surrounded by a rushing river. The poet, however, will cross the river in his boat and take the rock by storm. The companion sonnet responds that such a proceeding is impossible, love does not heed ships, battles, strife or siege, he who would win the citadel must be lowly and obedient. The ideas, of course, are still those of Provençal love poetry, but their figurative form is original and pleasing. We quote the first sonnet and part of the second:

"Rocca forzosa, ben aggio guardato
 In quale guisa ti possa acquistare
 Per forza: sì com' omo disperato,
 Di te piangendo, misimi a pensare;
 E per forza ti vidi in tale stato
 Che m'eri forte e dura per campare:
 Or t'ho conquisa, tant' aggio guardato,
 Senza lontanamente guerriare.
 Rocca, fiumata se' d'intorno intorno
 D'un forte fiume ch'è molto repente,
 Però il tuo pensamento si rubella;
 Ma 'n questo fiume faraggio soggiorno,
 E te conquisterò prestanamente
 Con una ben guerrita navicella." (1)

"Non cura nave la rocca d'Amore
 Né falso amante che sì la guerea,
 Tal castellan ci sta difenditore;
 Non cura chi in parlare la dannea,
 E non cura battaglia né romore
 Né lungo asseggio che intorno vi stea;
 Ché chi vorra montare in tal forzore
 Conven ch'umile ed ubidente stea." (2)

Another anonymous sonnet shows in a striking manner the diffusion of learning. The author refers to Cato and even to Lucan.

(1) Carducci p. 262.

(2) Ibid.

We know that Lucan and Statius were familiar to the scholars of the Middle Ages, but they have not hitherto been referred to in poetry. Cato, of course, is not unfrequently alluded to in passing, just as Caesar and Alexander are mentioned, but this instance differs from previous ones in that it is detailed and accurate:

"La pena che senti Cato di Roma
In quelle secche de la Barberia
Lor ch'al re ~~Oliva~~ pur andar volia
Veggendo la sua gente istanca e doma,
Non sembl'a me che fosse si gran soma
D'assai, mia donna, com' or è la mia;
Che, se serpente e sete mal facia
Lui ed a' suoi, come Lucan li noma,
I' son punto e' navrato da colui
Che tutte cose mena a su' piacere,
E face a qual si vuole adoperare."(1)

Attention may be drawn to a little group of four sonnets named "Il guidizio d'Amore," they are highly allegorical in tone and are clearly inspired by the Roman de la Rose, thus they do not come within the scope of these investigations.

Meo Abbracciavacca, whose name provoked Guittone d'Arezzo to a pun, exchanges a sonnet with Dotto Reali da Lucca. The Dotto Reali employs the image of rain, wind and sky. Meo is not so happy in his answer, because his figures are really unintelligible. We shall quote the former, calling attention to the changed application of the figure:

(1) Carducci p. 263.

"Similmente chanoscensa move
 Le cor dell' omo, che spesso si disforma,
 Sicome l'aire face quando plove,
 Che per contrario vento si riforma.
 E venta puro e mostra cose nove
 Inn occhio d'om, per parer non per forma;
 A simil parlo per intender prove
 Del mio difetto da ciò che più forma."(1)

Dotto Reali has left an extraordinary poem "Di ciò che 'l meo cor sente⁽²⁾," built up on a remarkable rime system. The figures are of necessity condensed beyond reason. Meo Abbracciavacca employs an astronomical figure in one of his poems. Such a thing could not have occurred in Provençal or Sicilian poetry, it is the product of scholasticism:-

".....montando in tal mainera,
 Come fa lo 'ntelletto
 Che di gioi' chere sempre la sua spera."(3)

This figure is apparently a reference to the "primum mobile" - the outmost heaven which loves and longs for the divine essence and moves in obedience to that love and longing. for, says Mr. Wicksteed - "motion when not caused by a physical impulse, is the expression of unsatisfied longing."(4) It is interesting to find so early a prophesy of the ideas which were to have a preponderating influence in the following school.

There are one or two meagre light parallels in Meo's poems, a reference to pure gold, to the royal lion etc., but there is also a little selection of weightier matter. There is

(1) Monaci p. 194.

(2) Rim. S-T p. 101.

(3) Rim. S-T. p. 4.

(4) Cp. notes on "Convivio," Dent, p. 76.

a candle figure:

"Como risprende in iscura partuta
Cera di foco apprisa,
Sì m'ha 'llumato vostra chiara spera."(1)

The parallel is unusual and reminds one of the Provençal:

"Atressi cum la candela
Que si meteissa destrui,
Per far clartat ad autrui
Chant, on plus trac greu martire,
Per plazer de l'autra gen."(1)

It is interesting to learn that our poet was able to reply in fitting terms to the banter of Guittone d'Arezzo. Cows and witches have nothing to do with my long absence, he cries, I could not leave the French folk. The same sonnet contains that figure of the wheel of Fortune which is destined to become a favourite comparison. This conception, so far as I know, never occurs at all either in Provençal or Sicilian lyrics. It would be a satisfaction to discover the reason of its sudden appearance and decided popularity. The fullest example of its use is in a sonnet by one Paolo Lanfranchi. It is a detailed description of the appearance and constitution of the wheel. Notice the man who holds his hands on his cheek, while the one at the top of the wheel is crowned. One feels that this idea may have been portrayed in the decoration scheme of a cathedral doorway. There is nothing after all, to excite remark in the

(1) P. Raimon de Toulouse, Barsteh p. 95.

nature of the figure. It is the sudden entrance of the conceit which is curious. Paolo's sonnet runs as follows:

"Quattr' omin son dipinti ne la rota
 Per la ventura dello esempio dato:
 E l'altro sta di sopra incoronato,
 E l'uno in su valentemente nota.
 E'l terzo se tien le mani a la gota,
 Ed è vilanamente trabucato,
 E'l quarto sta di sotto riversato
 E d'ogni estremità li dà sua dota.
 Io fui quel che là su andai montando
 Intorno intorno la rota girata,
 E fui di sopra a tutto il mio comando;
 Poi la testa mi fo incoronata.
 Or son caggiuto d'ogni ben in bando,
 Nel finimento de la mia giornata." (1)

The last figure by Meo Abbracciavacca which seems worthy of quotation is one in which he advocates change and variety as a remedy for unhappy love. It makes another delightful contribution to the heritage of bourgeois discretion.

"Chi sta nel monte reo vada 'n nel vallo,
 E chi nel vallo simel poggi a monte,
 Tanto che trovi loco meno reo." (2)

A certain Saladino of Pisa (or Pavia) is included by Monaci, but his few figures are rather paltry and artificial. Piero Asino of Florence has left us one sonnet. Its first line is strangely reminiscent of Dante:

"Per un camino pensando già d'amore,"

(1) Rim. S-T. p. 31.

(2) Op. cit. p. 17.

and its closing lines are clearly inspired by Cabestaing's "minor tertz d'amor."

It is a strange assembly of ghostly forms, this band of Tuscan poets. Their names are curiously fascinating and their brief snatches of song render their silence all the more pregnant. Here is yet another shadow - Pallamidesse, who fought in the battle of Monteperti and has left again but one song. It is full of bestial figures - Pallamidesse⁽¹⁾ must have had a liking for those queer creatures:

"Amor, poi che ti piace,
Fatto sono salamandra
E tuttora vivo in foco;
E come l' cerbio facie,
Ch'escie de la mandria,
Va a morire a grido loco,
Similmente m'impiglio;
E sono ventato tigre,
Poi morte m'apigra,
E di lei fatt'o spello,
In cui morire mi svelgio:
Tal' è mia ventura.
.....
Ban à tenuto usanza
Del leone, che tiene corte,
Chi gli è 'n colpa caduto,
Che l'ucide e divora;
Maunque, a mia parvenza,
A te, amore, nom fe' fallenza;
Ma mis' ài tua namora
Illei amar a tuttora:
Pero m'ài a tale condotto.
.....
Fa come a la donzella,
Ch'ài l'unicorno preso,
Ch'en sua fallia è auciso
Ed e' more per ella,
Cotanto sembrò bella.

(1) Chiaro Davanzati addresses a sonnet to him - D'Ancona e Compagnoni IV. p. 284.

.....
 "Ché cinquanta leofanti
 Van portereboro tanti
 Dolori, quant' in te rengna."(1)

There is a certain artlessness about this catalogue of beasts which is not without its charm.

One other obscure poet seems to have shared Pallamidesse's fondness for bestiarial figures. A canzone by one named Fredi contains several - first the dying swan:

"Sì come 'l cecen, che more cantando,
 La mia vita si parte e vo' morire."(2)

Then the lion and the leopard:

"Fui miso in gioco e frastenuto in pianto,
 Si falsamente mi sguardoo so sguardo,
 Sì come a lo leone lo lupardo,
 Ch'a tradimente li levao l'amanto."(3)

Then our friend the panther:

"Chè la pantera ha in sè ben tal natura,
 Ch'a la sua lena tragon li animali."(4)

Next the indefatigable phoenix:

"Lo fenice arde e rinova migliore,
 Non dotti l'om penar per miglioranza."(5)

Finally the unfortunate weakness of the elephant:

"Lo leofante null' omo riprenda,
 Se quando cade non si può levare."(6)

Such naïve cataloguing is a thing which Provençal and Sicilian

(1) Monaci pp. 250 - 251.

(2) Rim. S-T. p. 99.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Op. cit. p. 60.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Ibid.

alike had too much good sense to indulge in. It is only on rare occasions that they fall a prey to artless vanity of this kind.

The same poem contains one or two other rhetoric conceits. There is a curious reference to water and fire, akin to the crystal theory - "dentro l'aigua m'ha bruciato il foco."⁽¹⁾ - and then the wheel of Fortune once more shows its popularity.

"Poichè le piaque a quella, c'ha in podere
La rota di Fortuna permutare,
Però le piaccia di me ralegrare:
Cui ha saglito, facialo cadere."⁽²⁾

In a political tenzone in which many poets take part, there are one or two figures. Beroardo reminds the others that fighting is a different matter from writing sonnets:

"Le batalglie nom sono come sonetti,
Ché pungnono li ferri più che spine:
Però non sono sentenze li tuoi detti."⁽³⁾

Monte draws a good nautical parallel:

"Quale nochièro vuol essere a porto
Co la sua nave a tutto suo diporto,
Ove giugnere disia d'essere porto,
La stella il guida che per lei raporto.
Chi senza essa vuole gire è traporto
Im profondo di mare co lo suo porto;
Così la stella e lo nochière ci è porto
In terra, che ne guidi a buono porto.
E quelli è Carlo; chi dett'à: nol comporto,
Profondo è gito; tale sentenza porto."⁽⁴⁾

(1) Cp. contrast sonnet by C. Davanzati, D'Ancona e Comparetti vol. V. p. 72.

(2) Rim. S-T. p. 100.

(3) Monaci p. 265.

(4) Ibid. p. 267.

But Messer Lambertuccio refutes the idea with contempt:

"Con vana eranza fate voi riparo
Imfra gli eranti marinari a paro,
Diciendo Carlo sia del mondo paro
E tramontana senza alchuno riparo." (1)

Later, Monte employs a light figure. Notice the extraordinary versification:

"Ché cierto acierto chi 'n Carlo spera,
Sua lucie luci 'e spera
Più che l sole sòle del mondo spera," (2) etc. (3)

A certain Tommaso da Faenza has left a poem "Amorozo vobr m'ave commosso" which contains a few short but interesting figures.

The first is that of the good sailor:

"Per natoral ragione amore nasce,
Navegia aguiza di bon marinaro;
Se trova loco diziozo e chiaro
Sogiorno a ssua stagione prender sape." (4)

It is followed by a little original comparison - the bee's love of thyme -

"Così amor in cor polito adnasce
Gentil e pien d'amorozo desire;
Ponesi fermo e non vole partire,
Poi lo dezira come tiena l'ape." (5)

In his opinion resin is the sweetest-smelling spice:

"Come sorvincie l'anbra mirra e spico
Di fine odor cos' aventata a fomo." (6)

(1) Monaci p. 267.

(2) Cp. C. Davanzati (Rim. S-T.
p. 101)

(3) Monaci p. 270.

(4) Monaci pp. 278 - 9.

(5) Monaci p. 279.

(6) Ibid.

An interesting and novel conceit immediately succeeds these lines, it concerns the stamping of coins:

"Foll' è ciascun che non aviza stanpo
Là 've moneta in forma si percuote;"(1)

then come two equally interesting ideas, he who does not know the notes, must not touch the strings, who does not take his plumb line well, works on a slant:

"Non tocchi corda chi non sa le note,
Ca non lavora dritto chi mal pionba."(2)

There is a very good comparison from archery in a sonnet by Migliore degli Abati, it is a figure which the Italians do not readily employ:

"Sicome il buono arciere a la bataglia,
Che sa di guerra bene venire a porto,
Che traglie l'arco e mostra che lgli calglia
Di tale ferire che no lgli sta conforto,
E gira mano e poi fere in travalglia
A tale che de l'arciere non è acorto;
Ed eo, per la nojosa indivinalglia
De la mia donna, simile mi porto."(3)

Paolo Lanfranchi, who is the last poet to be recorded here was at Bologna in the year 1282 - 1283. It is considered probable that he visited the court of Pietro III. of Aragon with Guiraut Riquier and Folquet de Lunel. He has left few compositions. One of the number is a sonnet in Provençal which, along with

(1) Monaci p. 279.

(2) " " "

(3) Monaci pp. 284 - 5.

the two sonnets of Dante da Majano, has the distinction of being the only contribution of this kind in central Italian poetry.

On an earlier occasion we had an opportunity for describing the "wheel" sonnet of Paolo Lanfranchi. It is not the only example of this figure in his poems, for he uses it again in a sonnet on the inconstancy of fortune. Immediately following it comes the proverb of a great fire springing from a little spark.

"De la rota son posti esempi assai,
Che gira e volge e non dimora in loco,
E mette in bono stato quel c'ha poco,
Al poderoso dà tormenti e guai.
Or' a che no' tel pensi, po' tu' l sai
Che piccola favilla fa gran foco?
Non t' allegrare troppo nè dar gran gioco
Chè non se' certo come fenirai."⁽¹⁾

A most important feature of Paolo's poetry is the employment of a vision. The idea, we can unhesitatingly say, is not Provençal. There is an instance of a dream in Giraut de Bornelh⁽²⁾ but it is of a wholly different stamp, and could not be termed a vision. We have worked systematically through the poetry of the Sicilians and central Italians, and allowing even for unavoidable oversights, it seems remarkable that this should be the first appearance of a vision.⁽³⁾ We know how important the idea will become; what is its origin and why this sudden introduction? As in the case of the wheel of Fortune, we find no

(1) Rim. S-T. p. 28.

(2) Kolsen p. 230.

(3) I should like to make it clear that I speak solely of lyrical love-poetry. I am aware that there existed a vast dream literature in the middle ages, for the most part written in Latin and inspired largely by the "Somnium Scipionis." As a rule, however, the dream was merely the classical expedient for introducing descriptions of the other world, and while the "Divina Commedia" was undoubtedly in the direct line of this tradition, these visions of lyrical love-poetry would appear to be somewhat different in character. P.T.O.

tangible explanation, except that the idea may have suggested itself from the Bible dreams. It is probable, too, that the legends of the saints, particularly those of Bouvesin suggested the idea:

"L'altrier, dormendo, a me se venne Amore,
E destatomi disse:- 'Eo so' messaggio
De la tua donna che t'ama di core,
Se tu, più che non suoi, se' fatto saggio.'-
Da la sua parte mi donò un fiore,
Che parse per semblant' il so visaggio.
Allor nel viso cangiai lo colore,
Credendo el me dicesse per asaggio.
Però con gran temenza il dimandai:
-Come si sta la mia donna gentile?-
Ed el me disse:- Ben, se tu ben stai.-
Allora di pietà divenni umile.
Egli sparìo; più non gli parlai;
Parvemi quasi spirito sottile."

This conception of love as a spirit but having the semblance of a man who converses with the poet, is entirely Tuscan in character; how extraordinary is its sudden evolution in this sonnet by a minor poet! The dialogue is culled from popular poetry, the vision is perhaps due to Franciscan mysticism, but this sudden change of the accepted idea of "Amore" is inexplicable.

He is no longer a state born of pleasure - "Occhi, core ed Amore" the famous trinity, are for the moment forgotten, nor is love the pagan god casting his arrow, nor is he the sinister agent of Guilhem de Cabestaing's "minor tertz d'amor," he is "quasi spirito sottile," soon he will become the meanly clad pilgrim of

In this connection see Marcus Dodds "Fore runners of Dante" chap. II

Dante's Vita Nuova. On the whole, probably the theory of Franciscan influence is most sound, but the abrupt appearance devoid of all previous preparation or development is curious.

In central Italy there was also a popular poetry of which a fair portion remains, but the figurative language is as disappointing as that of the Sicilian popular lyric. Rhetoric conceits are few, and those few are culled from the courtly love poetry. Thus we find the dart of love, the flower and star figures, Tristan and Isolde, but no comparison which might be termed popular in its essence.

In this connection there are two little poems which have attracted the attention of Cesareo; apparently allegorical in character, both describe the escape of a bird from its cage. Cesareo regards the theme as popular, he shows that it does not exist in early French or Provençal, but that it is to be frequently met with in old German songs.⁽¹⁾ The first poem tells of a hawk, the second of a nightingale, both escape ungratefully from their owner and refuse to return. The underlying meaning of course, is that of a lover abandoning his mistress, or vice versa.

"Tapina me, ch' amavo uno sparvero:
Amaval tanto ch'io me ne moria!
A lo richiamo ben m'era manero,
Ed unque troppo pascere no 'l dovia.
Or è montato e salito sì altero,
Assai più alto che far non solia;

(1) Cp. 'La poesia sic. sotto gli Svevi,' pp. 435 - 439.

"Ed è assiso dentro a uno verzero:
 Un' altra donna lo tene in balía.
 Isparver mio, che io t'avea nodrito,
 Sonaglio d'oro ti facea portare,
 Perchè de l'uccellar fosse più ardito,
 Or se' salito sì come lo mare,
 Ed ha' rotti li geti e se' fuggito
 Quando eri fermo nel tuo uccellare." (1) (2)

This first poem purports to be written by a woman, the second is written in the masculine.

"For de la bella caiba fuge lo lusignolo.
 Plange lo fantino però che non trova
 Lu so osilino ne la gaiba nova;
 E dige cu dolo: chi gli avrì l'usolo?
 E dice cum dolo: chi gli avrì l'usolo?
 E in un boschetto se mise ad andare,
 Senti l'oseletto sè dolce cantare,
 Oi bel lusignolo, torna nel mio broylo;
 Oi bel lusignolo, torna nel mio broylo." (3)

Rustico Filippo as a poet stands a little apart. He does not belong to the popular school nor to that of courtly love, but rather partakes of the nature of both. In style and form he is akin to the latter, in subject matter, he resembles the former.

(1) Carducci p. 263.

(2) Bertoni regards this sonnet as belonging to the aristocratic, or cultured literature - "Certi motivi che paiono del tutto popolari, a un attento osservatore svelano la loro derivazione 'dotta.' È noto a ragion d'esempio, lo splendido sonetto etc. A me," he continues, "questo sonetto ricorda molto da vicino quei versi francesi intitolati 'Éloge d'un épervier,' editi dal Meyer in Romania, XXVI., 1897, p. 83. Cominciano:

"De tel oisel ai le cuer lié

Quant le voi sevir sur ma main;" etc.

Giustamente, a parer mio, scrive del testo il Meyer: "Je crois qu'il appartient plutôt a un roman d'aventures qu'à un traité de fauconnerie."

(Studi med. II., p. 361.)

(3) Monaci p. 294.

He writes light witty sonnets upon current topics. As a man of letters he must have been highly thought of because Brunetto Latini dedicated his Favolello to him from Paris. His language is not figurative. Its main characteristic as Monaci points out is its humorous quality, as for example, in the following passage:

"I' aggio inteso che senza lo core
Non po l'om viver né durar neente;
Ed io vivo sanz' esso, e lo colore
Però non perdo, né saver né mente."(1)

The nearest approach to figurative conceit which I can find is the sonnet written upon an unfortunate individual named Messerino. In style it reminds one a little of Peire d'Auvergne's famous sirventese on contemporary troubadours:

"Quando Dio messere Messerino fecie,
Bene si credette fare grande meraviglia,
Ch'uciello e bestia ed uomo ne sodisfecie,
C'a ciascheduna natura s'apilglia.
Che nel gozzo anigrottolo contrafecie,
E ne le reni giraffa m'asomiglia." etc.(2)

It is doubtless passages of this nature which have caused Bertoni to say: "inizia una poesia naturalistica singolare, burlesca e satirica insieme, quale nasce da una fine e arguta osservazione delle contraddizioni, delle assurdità e delle debolezze umane.....Le piccole e grandi imperfezioni umane, i contrasti fra le aspirazioni e la realtà e molte altre cose, infine,

(1) Carducci p. 257.

(2) Monaci p. 250.

"che costituiscono la tara di questa vita terrena, sono argomento per lui di esame e d'ironia. Passano nei suoi versi, derisi o flagellati, i millantatori, i vanitosi e gl' incostanti, e non vi manca la nota amara per le donne avere o comunque riprovevoli."(1)

The chief impression created by this curious medley of poets and figures is one of uncertainty and even confusion. Old conventions are in the process of disappearing and the new conventions are in the process of formation. Many old figures persist, but they seem now to have lost all freshness and sincerity, now indeed they can justly be termed monotonous and artificial. Mingled with these somewhat tired conceits are great masses of figures which seem to defy classification. The poets, on the whole, do not apparently seek for the figure which will best point their argument, or best grace their line, they have the appearance of putting down whatever idea suggests itself first, without considering either the aesthetic value or the suitability of its content. In addition we must once more point out that beyond a doubt the exactions of the rhyme determine the nature of the comparison in numberless cases. It might be argued, of course, that the rhyme is always a force to be reckoned with, but it must be remembered that Guittone d'Arezzo and his compatriots used by preference the most complicated verse forms in existence, and that thus the search for rhymes

(1) Il duecento, Storia lett. d'It. p. 102.

was an all-important matter. If it is possible to draw any general conclusions at all we might say that the practical figure which predominated in Guittone is predominant here also, and that the teaching of the schools is now having a substantial effect upon poetic diction. Beyond this we can make no further remark, poetic imagery is obviously passing through a state of flux and change.

Bonagiunta da Lucca is really an anomaly from our point of view, because his style of writing classes him with the first Sicilian school. It is thus better to treat him apart from his own contemporaries.

As an individual he is interesting on account of his place in Dante's writings, his relations with Guido Guinizelli, and his acquaintance with Benvenuto of Imola. Dante puts into his mouth the famous criticism of the old and new styles of poetry(1), and he himself actually conducted what Butler terms a "sonnet-correspondence" with Guido Guinizelli on this very subject. Benvenuto tells that he was "an easy finder of rimes, but an easier of wines", "*facilis inventor rhytmorum, sed facillior vinorum.*"

It is only fitting to begin with the sonnet addressed to Guido Guinizelli, it contains a very graceful light figure:

"Poi ch'avete mutata la maniera

(1) Purg. XXIV.

"De li plagenti detti de l'amore.
 De la forma e de l'esser, là dov' era,
 Per avanzare ogn' altro trovadore:
 Avete fatto come la lumera,
 C'a li schuri partiti dà splendore,
 Ma non quivi ove lucie l'alta spera,
 Perché passa et avanza di chiarore." etc.(1)

The "plagenti detti de l'amore" are rendered very charmingly by Bonagiunta in a dance-song: "Quando vegio la rivera." The poem gives a very good impression of the May-day frolics. It has one figure:

"Rendete le fortresse,
 Ché noi vegnam per esse:"(2)

The figure of the road and journey which has frequently appeared in embryo is developed in the canzone "Infra le gioi piacenti".

"Atendo di conpiere, e vado soggiornando
 In questo mio viaggio;
 E s'eo per tosto gire potesse, come stando,
 Conpiar lo meo viaggio,
 Farea questo passaggio in tal maniera,
 Ke falcon di rivera
 A pena credo K'avanti mi gisse,
 Perfui ke l meo viaggio si conpisse."(3)

Notice the slight falcon comparison.

The light figure is very intense in the sonnet, "Vostra piacenza
 tien più di piacere."

"Klera sovra l'altre rischiarate,
 D'uno splendore splendente isprendete,
 Ke più risprende ke del sol li raj."(4)

(1) Monaci p. 303.

(2) Carducci p. 22.

(3) Monaci p. 305.

(4) Monaci p. 308.

A poem of a more popular character contains a great many well-worn conceits. but they are full of freshness, and the style is light and pleasing:

"Tal è la fiamma e lo foco
 Là ond' eo 'ncendo e coco,
 Dolce meo sire,
 Che ismarrire
 Mi fate lo core e la mente.
 Ismarrire mi fate la mente e lo core,
 Sì che tutta per voi mi distruggo e disfaccio,
 Così come si sface la rosa e lo fiore
 Quando la sovra giungie freddura ne ghiaccio;
 Così son preso a lo laccio
 Per la stranianza vostra in prumera,
 Come la fera
 Amorosa di tutta la gente.
 Tant'è 'l foco e la fiamma ch'el meo cor abonda,
 Che non credo che mai si poss' astutare;
 E non è nullo membro che no mi confonda
 E non vegio per arte ove passa campare,
 Com' quel che cade al mare,
 Che non a sostegno ne ritenenza
 Per la 'ncrescenza
 De l'onda che vede frangente.

 Che mi fate una vista mortale, crudera,
 Com' eo fosse di voi nemica giudea;"(1)

The canzone "Avegna che partensa" contains a variety of figures. The rainbow of hope, and the candle appear side by side.

"Siccome la balena
 Di cio che rende e mena
 La parte là, u' dimora, fa gioire.
 La gioi', ch'eo perdo e lasso,
 Mi strugge, mi consuma,
 Como candela ch'al foco s'accende.(2)
 E sono stanco e lasso;
 Meo foco non alluma,
 Ma quanto più ci afanno men s'apprende."(3)

(1) Butler pp. 111 - 2.

(2) See also Rim. S-T. p. 73.

(3) Rim. S-T. p. 50.

A pathetic effect is achieved by the thought of the darkening night and of the living water which loses its sparkle when turned from its course:

"Siccome l'aire quando va tardando;
E come l'aigua viva
Ch'alor è morta e priva
Quando si va del corso disviando."(1)

Two animal figures create the same atmosphere. The poet yearns for the strength and freedom of the lion, the cry of the curlew is like the cry of his heart:

"Oh Deo! chè non m'avene
Com' al leon selvaggio,
Che tutto tempo vive poderozo
E odiozo -
.....
Como l'augel che pia
Lo me' cor piange e cria
Per la malvagia gente, che m'ha morto."(2)

An original touch is given at the end:

"Como la uliva non cangia verdura,
Non cang' eo per ragione
Di fina 'ntensione,
Ancor mi sia cangiata la figura."(3)

Bonagiunta's verse is lightened by occasional very short figures which appeal to the reader's imagination, e.g.

"Cannoscensa si move
Da senno intero,
Como dal cero,
Quand' arde, lo splendore."(4)

(1) Rim. S-T. p. 50.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Op. cit. p. 51.

(4) Op. cit. p. 53.

or else

"pare che mi sia diviso,
Com' albore succiso - con catene."(1)

A real May-morning song appeals as much to Bonagiunta as to any of his early forebears:

"Montasi ogni stagione,
Però fronde e fiore e frutta,
L'afinata gioi' d'amore:
Per questa sola ragione
A lui è data e condotta
Ogne cosa, c'ha sentore;
Sì come par, li auselli
Chiaman sua signoria
Tra lor divisamente
Tanto pietosamente,
E l'amorosa via
Commenda tuttavia
Perchè comune vòlse usar con elli."(2)

A "descortz" throws out a few images as it trips along: Ivan(?) and Tristano come first:

"E messire - Ivano
E'l dolze Tristano
Ciascun fue sotano
Ver' me di languire."(3)

The ship is again in danger:

"Come nave,
Che, soave,
Che sta in grave - tempestanza."(4)

-
- (1) Rim. S-T. p. 57.
(2) Op. cit. p. 61.
(3) Op. cit. p. 70.
(4) Ibid.

and finally come Adam and the "apple of error."

"Sto ne' ramo
Più ch'Adamo
Per lo pome de l'erore."(1)

The ballad "Donna, vostre belleze," affords the same type of easy conventional figure. A Provençal troubadour might have written such lines as these:

"Gigli e rose novelle
Vostro viso aportate
Si smirato e lucente.
Ed eo similmente
'nnamorato son di vue
Assai più che non fue - Tristan d'Isolda:
Meo cor non solda - se non vostr' altura."(2)

Once more we are in the realm of Provençal influence, and it must be admitted that the return is welcome. Line follows line in a harmonious flow, the imagery of flower and fire, Jew and leopard is a grateful change from Alpine saddles and acrobatic hearts; The verse no longer has the appearance of a patched garment.

We find again the personified abstractions which we have learned to appreciate, and the wholly satisfying flower and fruit figure:

"Rasgion, chi vuol venir a buono porto
De la sua disianza,
Che 'n amonzanza metta lo suo core;
Chè per lo fior' si de' sperar lo frutto
E per amor ciò ch'è desiderato;"(3)

(1) Rim. S-T. p. 70.

(2) Op. cit. p. 74.

(3) Butler p. 113.

Then we come upon one of those proverbial sayings which are essentially Provençal in character:

"Perchè serà fallire a dismisura
A la pintura andare
Chi può mirare la propria sostanza;
Chè di bel giorno ò vista notte scura
Contra natura fare,
Ed apportar lo bene in malenanza."(1)

The following remark is of the same nature and reminds us too of the troubadours' wise knowledge of life:

"Se non ò ciò che chero
Farò come chi tacie
La cosa che li spiacie
Per fino intendimento."(2)

It is just this "fino intendimento" which is lacking in the poets of the doctrinal school.

Like the troubadours Bonagiunta loved colour:

"Chè tutte gioie di beltate ha vinto,
Sì come grana vince ogn' altro tinto."(3)

The following stanza is instinct with the same lyric grace, the poet is restless like the wave when he remembers the splendour of his lady's face; on which no man can gaze, so great is its light, surpassing that of the sun or any other creature:

".....chè non posa giammai se non com' onda,"(4)
Membrando il suo visaggio,

(1) Butler pp. 113 - 4.

(2) Butler p. 116.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Rim. S-T. p. 61, cp.

"Ch' ammorza ogni altro viso e fa sparere
 In tal maniera che là 'v ella appare
 Nessun la può guardare,
 E mettelo in errore;
 Tant' è lo suo splendore
 Che passa il sole, di vertute spera,
 E stella e luna ed ogn' altra lumera."(1)

The fourth stanza of this poem opens with a distinct herald of the "dolce stil nuovo" ideas, then it passes to the tree figure and then to the fountain of living water. There is a scriptural flavour about the latter part of the stanza:

"Ciascuna guisa d'amor graziosa,
 Secondo la natura
 Che vien di gentil loco, ha in sè valore;
 Com' arbore quando è fruttiferosa,
 Qual frutto è più in altura
 Avanza tutti gli altri nel sapore;
 Onde la gioia mia passa l'ottima
 Quant' è più d'alta cima;
 Di cui si può d'ir bene
 Fontana d'ogni bene,
 Chè di lei sorge ogn' altro ben terreno,
 Come aqua viva che mai non vien meno."(2)

This last quotation is a fitting close to the series, for Bona-
 giunta's poetry is indeed like "rivers of water in a dry land".
 It is evident that he is a man of highly superior literary gifts.
 By adhering to the true Provençal tradition he has avoided the
 quicksands of a transition style of poetry, and possibly it was
 his own poetic instinct which guided him past the danger of ming-
 ling new elements with old, and made him alive to the incongruity
 patent in much of the poetry of his day.

(1) Butler p. 117.

(2) Ibid.

Bertoni gives a somewhat qualified commendation of Bonagiunta da Lucca, but as it bears out largely what we have found to be the truth in the matter of figures, we shall quote the passage concerned.

"Fu, tra i seguaci di Guittone, uno di quelli, che più s'attenero ai modi di poetare propri dei nostri primi verseggiatori meridionali. Da questi egli derivò una certa scioltezza, che talora fa uno strano contrasto con gli impacci dell' imitazione provenzale e guittoniana; e ciò spiega, parmi, come e perchè sia stato accusato dai contemporanei di 'furare i detti del Notaro' e sia stato, non a ragione, ritenuto ai giorni nostri quasi un precursore del 'dolce stil nuovo.' Il vero si è che Bonagiunta non può dirsi un pedissequo e cieco imitatore di Guittone, pur essendo stato uno dei suoi seguaci. Nei suoi versi risuonano le consuete immagini della scuola siciliana, ma non prosperano tutte le male erbe della maniera di Guittone.... Il nostro lucchese è più libero e franco, ma assai meno interessante dell' Aretino che si presenta a noi come poeta politico, religioso e d'amore. Bonagiunta ha invece una sola corda alla sua lira, e da lui non possiamo aspettarci che dolce versi in gloria della donna vagheggiata."⁽¹⁾ Very true, but that one string of Bonagiunta's is worth Guittone's whole gamut.

Bonagiunta has left a number of sonnets some of which are highly figurative. One in particular is devoted entirely to

(1) Op. cit. p. 80.

the development of the flower parallel. Bonagiunta treats the figure in a more fundamental way, he begins by describing the function of the flower in life, and so passes from one conceit to another. Sometimes, of course, the poem descends to mere quibbling.

"Tutto lo mondo si mantien per fiore:
 Se fior non fosse, frutto non seria;
 Per lo fiore si mantene amore,
 Gioia e allegrezza, ch'è gran signoria.
 Eo de la fior son fatto servidore
 Sì di bon core che più non poria:
 In fiore ho messo tutto il meo valore;
 Se'l fiore mi fallisse, ben morria.
 Eo son fiorito e vado più fiorendo:
 In fiore ho posto tutto il mio diporto:
 Per fiore aggio la vita certamente:
 Com' più fiorisco più in fior m'intendo:
 Se fior mi falla, ben seria morto,
 Vostra mercé, madonna, fiore aulente."(1)

He gives a new rendering to the "dart" figure, or rather he appends a sequel to it, namely the extracting of the dart. This last process is more dangerous than the first:

"Feruto sono. e chi è di me ferente
 Guardi che non m'aucida al disferrare,
 Ch'eo ho veduto perir molta gente
 Non nel ferire ma nel ferro trare:
 Però feruto, voglio star tacente,
 Portar lo ferro per poter campare:
 Che per sofferenza divien uom vincente,
 Ch'ogni cosa si vince per durare."(2)

The last two lines strike the true Provençal note:

"Aissi ven bes apres dolor.

(1) Carducci p. 253.

(2) Monaci p. 253.

"Et apres gran mal jauzimen,
 E rics joys apres marrimen,
 E loncs repaus apres labor,
 E grans merces per sufrir ses contendre," etc.(1)

One sonnet shows a curious resemblance to the canzone of Puccio Bellondi(2). Bonagiunta describes the bird rising; in the same manner, he would like to rise upwards too, but instead he goes down like the descending wheel; ~~but~~ in the sestet he declares that he is now at the top-most point of the wheel, just as Bellondi says:-

".....Poi la rota
 Che gira la Ventura
 Mi mena in sua alteza."

It is interesting to find two such original figures appearing again in cooperation. Bonagiunta's version is as follows:

"Movo di basso e voglio alto montare,
 Come l'augel che va in alto volando:
 Stendo le braccia, se voglio alto andare
 Come la rota in su mi va portando.

 Im cima de la rota son locato:
 E dislocato chi la solea avere,
 Et a me data la sua signoria."(3)

The crystal, snow and fire figure also is adopted by Bonagiunta:

"Di entro da la neve esce lo foco;
 E dimorando ne la sua gelura,
 Ché vincela lo sole a poco a poco
 Divien cristallo l'aigua, tant' è dura;
 E quella fiamma si parte da loco

(1) Barbézieux, R. III. p. 457.

(2) Carducci p. 37.

(3) Carducci p. 254.

"E contra de la sua prima natura:
E voi, madonna, lo tenete a gioco;
Com' più vi prego, più mi state dura."(1)

In the same sonnet there is another little proverbial saying, which in its substance is original:

"Ma questo aggio veduto pur istando,
L'acerbo pomo in dolce ritornare;"(2)

This reminds one of the Provençal expression "aigua douz del mar" which occurs several times in the troubadour lyrics.

There is one curious fire figure which requires mention:

"Ma ben sarebbe cortesia d'Amore
Se'l gran calore ond'io sono allumato
Fosse incarnato sì com'è 'n figura."(3)

The idea seems to me quite novel and rather striking. But certainly in the sonnet form there is less temptation to use those conceits which formed part and parcel of the canzone for such a long period. Thus, in a sonnet on the fickleness of fortune Bonagiunta uses the figure of the wheel, he illustrates the same point by telling us how soon the meadow flowers are "changed" and finally reminds us that a mountain may become a valley.

"Qual omo è su la rota per ventura
Non si ralegrì perchè sia inalzato,
Chè, quanto più si mostra chiara e pura,
Alor si gira ed hallo disbasato.
E nullo prato ha sì fresca verdura,
Che gli suoi fiori non cangino istato;

(1) Carducci p. 253.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Carducci p. 252.

"E questo sacco ch'avien per natura:
 Più grave cade chè più è montato.
 No se dev' omo troppo ralegrare
 Di gran grandeza nè tener ispene,
 Chè gli è gran doglia aleghessa fallire.
 Anzi si deve molto umiliare,
 Non far soperchio perch' agia gran bene,
 Chè ognà monte a valle dè' venire."(1)

Another sonnet contains the image of a child attracted by the fire and burning itself, it reminds one of the same kind of passage in Chiaro Davanzati where a child breaks a mirror. In the present instance Bonagiunta passes from the figure to rather an artificial contrast passage of fire and tears.

"A me adovene com a lo zitello,
 Quando lo foco davanti li pare,
 Che tanto li risembla chiaro e bello
 Che stendive la mano per pigliare.
 E lo foco lo 'ncende e fallo fello,
 Che non è gioco lo foco toccare;
 Poi ch' è pasata l'ira, allora e quello
 Disia inver' lo foco ritornare.
 Ma eo, che trago l'aigua de lo foco;
 E no è null' omo, che 'l potesse fare;
 Per lacrime, ch'eo getto, tutto coco,
 Chiare e salse, quant' aqua di mare:
 Candela, che s'aprende senza foco,
 Arde e incende e non si pò amortare."(2)

Bonagiunta does occasionally betray a slight doctrinal influence. He speaks once of his spirits in the approved fashion:

"Gli vostri occhi ch'è' m'hanno divisi
 Li spiriti, che son dentro nel core!
 E escon fuor con sì grande tremore,
 Ch'i ho temenza che non simo aucisi."(3)

(1) Rim. S-T. p. 81.

(2) Op. cit. p. 82. cp. Chiaro Davanzati, pp. 471

(3) Op. cit. p. 88.

He is capable of conversing in the moralising tone set in fashion by Guittone:

"Così come nel mondo
Non ha corpo senza core;
E come non ha fondo
A contar la gioi' d'amore,
Così nessuno pondo
Par nè simil è d'amore
A ben conquistare
E perseverare."(1)

But apart from these rare testimonies Bonagiunta remains as we said at the outset - an anomaly. It is not fair to say, as does Chiaro Davanzati, that he borrowed the plumes of the Notary. The sonnet "Di penne di paoe e d'altro assai"(2) should be regarded rather as a proof of the new independence in poetry than as a severe criticism upon Bonagiunta da Lucca. In any case, it is unmerited, Bonagiunta is not an imitator, he has the old inspiration - the new makes no appeal to him; we feel bound to repeat too, that he is a poet of the first order, and that probably his instinct saved him from the confusion of styles to which the transition period was condemned.

Chiaro Davanzati.

Chiaro Davanzati as a poet stands somewhat apart from his contemporaries. Though in many respects a disciple of Guittone d'Arezzo he had yet certain striking personal and in-

(1) Rim. S-T. p. 78.

(2) D'Ancona e Comparetti III. p. 379.

dividual features which mark him as different from the ordinary group of transition poets. That he still belonged to the latter is undoubted, as Bertoni says:⁽¹⁾ "Chiaro Davanzati per le qualità della forma e del pensiero può essere posto quasi a cavaliere dell' antico e del nuovo periodo, detto dello stil nuovo," but at the same time it cannot be questioned that our poet was considerably in advance of the other Tuscan poets and that in his last phase of development he is distinctly under the influence of Guido Guinizelli. The last sonnets are the work of a man who after spending his life in search of a path, finds it too late; he attains the power of self-expression only at the last. "In tutte le parti del suo canzoniere, si sente ch'egli, impacciato nelle reti di un' arte convenzionale, fa tutti gli sforzi per uscirne e fissa gli occhi in ogni luce, che gli sembri schiudere nuovi orizzonti più aerati e spaziosi. Troppo tardi trovò egli la sua via; ma anche durante questa sua angosciata ricerca, ebbe un senso vivo della realtà, quale non fu proprio ai verseggiatori anteriori e quale si fece comune a Firenze nella seconda metà del sec. XIII." Bertoni divides his poetry into three distinct sections. To begin with the poet goes through a period of servile Provençal imitation, frequently he goes so far as to translate passages from certain troubadours. Then comes a stage where he is under the influence of Guittone d'Arezzo, and at this point his work is very unequal - "il bello

(1) Storia lett. d'Italia.

(2) pp. 99 - 100.

(3) p. 99.

si mescola al brutto e i gentili natii vocaboli trovansi messi accanto ai barbarismi più crudi."⁽¹⁾ Finally in a last phase he comes under the influence of Guido Guinizelli di Bologna.

"Ma in un' ultima fase, sotto l'influsso del Guinicelli e della nuova poesia, che cominciava a spirare da Bologna, egli si spogliò dei vecchi abiti guittoniani e apparvè, quale era, un gentile e gagliardo poeta. Scrisse allora questo sonetto, che è forse il suo migliore componimento."

"La splendente luce, quando appare, etc."

(1) Op. cit. p. 99.

Turning to the question of figures of speech our first remark must be that these are extraordinarily numerous. Chiaro Davanzati has left a great mass of poetic compositions and his work is highly figurative. The very quantity of figures makes repetition unavoidable to a certain extent, but Chiaro repeats to excess. There are certain comparisons which he delights in and which he never wearies of repeating. The two preponderant classes of figures are those of light and beasts. The former is beginning to assume a rôle of great importance in poetry. The old Provençal idea of light emanating from the lady, doubtless culled from the worship of Mary, was destined to become the most outstanding figurative characteristic of the "dolce stil nuovo" school of poetry. The figure appears time and again in Chiaro Davanzati gathering in force as it goes until it rises to a climax in the magnificent sonnet "La splendente luce." It is sometimes a mere glimmer, "del mio cor lomera," sometimes a steady glow, and sometimes a great blaze of light. Notice too the various kinds of treatment; the sheen of the lady's beauty can change night into day, or else she gives light to the sun itself; it may be a Provençal echo as in "sole di maggio," or else the sun's rays piercing the clouds; the power to scatter spiritual shadows, or the path across the heavens from dawn to sunset, and at last we find something very nearly allied to the sun of righteousness bringing joy in its train.

Although a mere catalogue of figures can become a very dull thing we shall depart from customary procedure and give the list of **these** light passages as they occur in the texts, the object being to show the remarkable variety of these and their gradual increase in power. We quote from D'Ancona and Comparetti, vols. III. and IV.

1. "La claritate
Dela vostra bellezza
A me dava chiarezza,
Che la greve fereza
Serà dolcieza
S'io tengno l'umiltate."(1)
2. "La sua bieltate quant' è poderosa,
Che l'aira tenebrosa
S'apare. fa parer di notte dia."(2)
3. "Ch'amor loco m'à fatto
Nel dolze paradiso,
Giungiendo ben miei rai con quei del sole,
Donandomi a servire a tal che vuole
Di cui servire emi piace
Dimorare intraffatto,
Servendo la veracie
In tute parti tuto il mio podere."(3)
4. "Ch'anche pintura in giesse
Di cotante adorneze
Nom si fecie, ned ène.
Alo sol dà chiarore,
Ongni sper' à splendore
Da lei, quanta splende;
Ongni virtù ne sciende,
L'amore, la dotrina;
Tant' à di sengnoria."(4)

(1) Vol. III. pp. 10 - 11.

(2) p. 18.

(3) p. 75.

(4) p. 87.

5. "Poichè veduto l'agio
Lo suo rico belloire,
Che lucie e da splendore
Più ch'el sole di magio.
Chè tanto c'om la vede
Nom poria mal **pensare**
Nè mai alcun follore adoperare:
E vada a lei veder chi nol mi crede."(1)
6. "Ch'ella ove fa aparenza
Lo scuro fa chiarire,
E facie il sol venire
Là ovunque è 'm presenza:
Li suoi cavei dorati
E li cilgli moretti,
E vòlti com' archetti
Con due ochi morati" etc.
7. "Sicome il sol che schiara ogni nebiore,
Quando li raggi manda di sua spera
Sormonta in allegrezza ongni scurato,
Così quando aparite, alente fiore,
In gioi' ritorna ongni turbata ciera,
Ciascuno viso fate inamorato."(2)
8. "Che non credo Tisbia,
Alèna nè Morgana,
Avesson di bieltà tanto valore;
Ch'el suo dolce splendore
Rischiara ongni turbato,
E facie inamorato
Chi guarda o mira inver la gioia mia."(3)
9. Sonnet on the nature of love. Vol. IV.
"Chi à donato e('n) lui messo il suo valore,
Di picciol fiume vien talor grande onda. (cp. Prov.)
D'Amore avene sicome del sole:
Quando si leva lucie in ongne parte
E poi si torna là ond' è levato
Così va Amor caendo chi lo vole:
Cui trova bon. di se li dona parte:
Con alegrezza inalza lo suo stato."(4)

(1) p. 110.

(2) 141.

(3) pp. 166 - 7.

(4) Vol. IV. p. 25. cp. *Richard Barbézieux, Ray. III. p. 455.*

10. "La splendente lucie quando apare
 In ongne scura parte dà chiarore:
 Cotant' à di vertute il suo guardare,
 Che sovra tutti gli altri è 'l suo splendore.
 Così madonna mia facie alegrare,
 Mirando lei, chi avesse alcun dolore:
 Adesso lo fa in gioia ritornare,
 Tanto sormonta e passa il suo valore.
 E l'altre donne fan di lei bandiera,
 Imperadricie d'ogni costumanza,
 Perch'è di tutte quante la lumera.
 E li pintor la miran per usanza
 Per trare asempro di sì bella ciera,
 Per farne al' altre gienti disnostranza."(1)

The Beast figures can be divided into two groups as was the case with Provençal figures of this type. There are images taken straight from the bestiaries and others taken from general knowledge of animals. It is in the first category that we find such a remarkable amount of repetition. The frequent recurrence of certain ideas becomes very irritating and sometimes even ludicrous. Thus Chiaro tells us four times now much he resembles or wishes he resembled a bear! The reason being, that the bear of the bestiaries has the invaluable quality of flourishing in adversity:

1. "Che lo 'mparare - del' orso viemi avere,
 Che per ira tenere - monta e cresce,
 E si nodriscie - di dolore quanda
 In me si spanda - simile nodrire."(2)
2. "Com' agio audito dire
 Del orso, similgliante sua natura:
 Che per dolglia c'avesse
 O per pene o languire
 Venisse viguroso per rancura."(3)

(1) Vol. IV. p. 255.

(2) Vol. III. p. 144.

(3) Vol. III. p. 160.

3. "Cà la mia vita è di natura d'orso:
Quando om lo batte e tenelo im paura
Alora ingrassa e divene più forte;"(1)
4. "S'io avesse d'orso la natura
Pora campar, se ver è quella usanza,
Che 'ngrassa per tenere im se rancura.
Ma non divene a me, cà di pesanza
Agiò la morte e veiola im figura
Ver me venire, e non trovo pietanza."(2)

The figure of the dying swan actually occurs four times.

1. "Ma faccio a similglianza
Del ciecier per usanza,
Che ciò che li dispiacie
Dimostra che li piacie - e va cantando.
Ed io similmente
Canto e sono dolente:
Che senza voi vedere
Gioia nom posso avere - nè ben pemsando."(3)
2. "Sicome il ciecier quand' è al perire
Che termina cantando le sue pene,
Contasi im bene - quel che gli è pesanza,
A tal speranza - porto la mia vita,
Chè di dolglienza fo novel cantare
Per dimostrare - ch'i agia gioi' imparare,
Ma lo sperare - d'avver me nodriscie:
Come acqua pescie - prendone vivanda:
Ch'amor comanda - ch'io degia soffrire."(4)
3. "La vita terminando
Com' el cieciere facie,
Che la morte gli piacie,
Finisciela cantando."(5)

The last appearance of the figure is in a passage which contains the elephant myth, obviously inspired as various critics have

(1) Vol. IV. p. 30.

(2) p. 241.

(3) Vol. III. p. 170.

(4) p. 143.

(5) p. 135.

pointed out by the poem of Richard de Barbézieux "Atressi cum l'orifans."

4. "Ch'io faccio come 'l ciecier ciertamente,
 Che si sforza a cantare
 Quando si sente aprossimar la morte.
 E più m'è forte - pena ov' io son dato,
 Quand' io non vegio quella dolze spera
 Che nelo schuro mi donò lumera;
 Omè, s'io fosse un anno morto stato
 Si doverei a lei eser tornato!
 Siccome nom si può rilevare,
 Dapoichè cade guiso,
 Lo leofante ch'è di gran possanza,
 Mentre che gli altri colo lor gridare
 Vengnon che 'levan suso, (cp. R. de Barbézieux)
 E rendonti il conforto e la baldanza;
 A tal sembianza, - canzone, va in corso
 Ad ongne fino amante ovunque sede,
 Chè degiano per me gridar merzede;
 Chè se per lor non m'è fatto soccorso,
 Fra i terrafin del disperar son corso."(1)

The passage from Barbézieux is very like, as will be seen -

"Atressi cum l'orifans,
 Que, chan chai, no.s pot levar,
 Tro l'autre, ab lor cridar,
 De lor votz lo levàn sus,
 Et ieu vuelh segre aquel us," etc.(2)

The panther image is almost as popular as that of the swan, but it has the difference of being more highly developed each time the poet employs it. Its usage is a good instance of Chiaro Davanzati's careful and methodical style. No other poet hitherto has been so consistently painstaking in the working out of rhetoric parallels. The very existence of the repetition points

(1) III. p. 25.

(2) Lommatsch p. 70.

to the fact that Chiaro liked to practise at a certain expression until he had perfected it. The ultimate result is always pleasing, as the language is dignified and satisfying, but the intermediate process is apt to try the patience of the reader not a little. Notice in the present instance the working of the poet's method, from the bare sketch to the fully clothed picture:

1. "Chè la valenza - di voi, donna altera,
Fue me pantera - e presemi d'amore.
Come d'aulore
D'essa si prende ongn' altra fera,
Così di voi mi presi inamorando;"(1)
2. "Cà simil di pantera
Facieste per usagio,
C'ongn' altra fera prende per olore;
Voi mi prendeste, amore,
Lo core e me, vegiando vostra spera."(2)
3. "Sicome la Pantera per alore
Comprende l'altre fiere di plagienza,
Urlando lei vi tragono a rumore,
Ed ella li comprende d'increscienza:
A similglianza poss' io dir d'amore,
C'aprende i suoi con amorosa lenza,
Mostrando bei sembianti sovent' ore,
E poi li tiene i' lunga penitenza;" etc.(3)

Chiaro Davanzati tests the Salamander in a canzone, approves of its effect and works it out fully in a sonnet:

1. "La salamandra im foco si mantene.
Ed io sono animale
Di ciò vita nom prendo,

(1) III. p. 15.

(2) III. p. 129.

(3) IV. p. 252.

"Ma pur d'amor servendo,
Cresce mio bene e sale:
Ch'amore e la mia donna e lo cor mio
Sono una cosa e ~~anno~~ uno disio." (1)

2. "La salamandra vive nelo foco,
Ed ongni altro animale ne periscie:
Ed a lei sola par sollazo e gioco,
E solamente dentro si nodriscie.
Ed io ne sento pur d'amore ~~un~~ poco
Del suo inciendore, tanto mi gradiscie,
Che non m'avampa, ma lo core coco;
Desiderando d'esso mi gueriscie.
Così son salamandra divenuto
Che ciò c'omo si conta per danagio,
Mi pare a me per gioia concieduto." etc. (2)

Exactly the same process is adopted with the "tiger," though the development here is not so apparent.

1. "Come la Tigra nel suo gran dolore
Solena nelo spello riguardando,
E vede figurato lo colore
Deli suoi filgli, ch'ella va cieranando;
Per quel diletto obria lo cacciatore,
Dimora i' loco, nol va seguitando;
Così chi è compreso ben d'amore
Ave la vita sua donna mirando:" etc. (3)

2. "L'asempro dela tigre non guardai,
Ca nelo spello mira trapassando,
E ristà alquanto, ubria li suoi guai,
Lo cacciatore intanto va fugando:
E scampa per ingiengno e maestria,
Ed ala tigre lascia il mal dolglioso,
Onde posiede quello che disia.
Voi siete il cacciatore viguroso,
La tigre è Amore e io son la Follia,
Che vo ciercando il mal ch'è periglioso." (4)

(1) III. pp. 7 - 8.

(2) IV. p. 251.

(3) IV. p. 253.

(4) V. p. 40.

And again we find this treatment in the examples of the **badger** and the pelican - once more the later instance is more fully worked out than the first:

"Ed io che di servire son volglioso
Di lepre tasso ò presa la natura,
Che nel suo core già non à paura
Ch'il chiama per amore disioso:"(1)

"Fo come lepre tasso odo che facie,
Che tragie a chi l'apella per amore,
Tant' è di fedel core,
Che va a morire e pareli veracie;
Ed io sospiro e piango e gioi' dimeno;
Per non turbare, lo meo mal rafreno."(2)

"E ben sorescie - chi nel mal camforta
La sua vita, - ch'i ò inudita
Ch'el pulicano sucita di morte,
E vol gli è forte:
Così la pena pò venir gioita
Chi non invita - pensiero oltre grato."(3)

"Perciò sia acomandata
A voi, ch'avete in ciò la libertate:
Ch'i' odo dir ch'al pulican divene
Che sucita li suo filgli di morte,
E cierto nolgli è forte,
Ma fugie il suo dolore, e'n giò rivene.
Così poreste surgiere e amendare
La morte e'l fallo, e sariani le giero,
Se per lo mio preghero
Doveste solo un' ora adumiliare."(4)

Three more single figures bring us to the end of the bestiarial section. Chiaro Davanzati certainly has a remarkable range of images of this type. The first is a short parallel to the

(1) III. p. 153.

(2) III. p. 160.

(3) III. p. 38.

(4) III. p. 14.

Phoenix, the second is part of a sonnet on the unicorn and the last is a rare choice, the **beaver**

"De la Fenicie impreso agio natura,
Che s'arde se medesma per venire
Giovane e fresca e non gagia figura:
Per aver gioia sofera languire." etc. (1)

"Come lo Lunicorna che si prende
Ala donzella per verginitate,
E va ala morte, già nom si contende
Da lei poichè no' l gl' usa veritate,
Quando l'à preso al cacciator lo rende,
Ed el ne facie la sua volontade;
Cosi amor li suoi amanti raprende
D'un disioso foco ale fiate,
Che mostra lor piacer e disianza,
E donagli ale donne intenditori:" etc. (2)

"Come il Castoro quando egli è cacciato,
Vegiendo che nom pote più scampare
Lascia di quello che gli è più 'ncarnato,
E tutto il fa per più in vita regnare:
Lo cacciator presente l'à trovato
Immantenente lascia lo cacciare;
Cosi facc' io che sono inamorato,
Che lascio ongn' altra cosa per amare." etc. (3)

Chiario Davanzati's use of figures proceeding from general knowledge and observance of animals can be compared only to that of Marcabru, for although the Italian's choice of illustration is different, his style and intention are the same. Curiously enough we find the same trial and repetition method which characterised the bestiarial images. Thus there are two occurrences of the familiar "fish" conceit:

(1) IV. p. 247.

(2) IV. p. 250.

(3) IV. p. 254.

"Co' la credenza inganno
 La mia mente e me stesso;
 Credo parlare a boca,
 Si com' el pescie a 'nganno
 Al' amo prende sè stesso;
 Così il mio core imboca
 Ciò ch'amore li dà
 Credene aver, non dà,
 Mostrali gioco a punta,
 E prendel talglio e punta;"(1)

"Sicome il pescie prende
 In acqua la sua vita
 Nè mai non viveria in altro loco,
 Così l'amor m'aciende
 E al pemsare m'invita
 E mi comprende d'amoroso foco."(2)

The famous parallel of the butterfly and the flame first adapted by Folquet de Marselha and rendered famous by Giacomo da Lentino is a favourite with Chiaro Davanzati. If the order followed by D'Ancona is strictly chronological, which seems doubtful, the climax of the comparison is followed by a slighter echo. The sonnet is well handled but one suspects that Chiaro himself may be guilty of that indebtedness to the Notary with which he reproached Bonagiunta da Lucca.

"Quando pemsso e disguardo
 La vostra gran bieltate,
 In ciascun membro sento li sospiri,
 Cotanto no riguardo
 Delo tardar che fate
 Nom perdan ciò ond' atendono disiri.
 Oi dolci smiri - e la gaia fazone!
 Del parpalglione - aver mi par natura,
 Che si mette al' arsura
 Per lo chiaror del foco ala stasgione.

(1) III. p. 65.

(2) III. p. 167.

"Così m'aven di voi, bella, vegiando,
Che mi moro temendo," etc.⁽¹⁾

"Chè quand' io guardo lo suo chiaro viso
Fo (co)me 'l parpalglione ala lumera
Che va morire per sua claritate;
Ed io mirando lo suo gioco e riso,
Fo come quelli che mira la spera
Del sol, sua lucie non à claritate.
Il parpalglion che fere ala lumera
Per lo splendor, chè s'è bella gli pare,
S'aventa ad essa per la grande spera,
Tanto che si conduce a divampare.
Così faccio mirando vostra ciera,
Madonna, e'l vostro dolcie rasgionare,
Che diletando strugo come ciera
E non posso la voglia rimfrenare.
Così son divenuto parpalglione,
Che more al foco per sua claritate,
E per natura à 'm se quella casgione.
Ed io, madonna, per vostra bieltate,
Mirandola, consuma im pemsagione,
Se per merzè non trovo in voi pietate."⁽²⁾

"Che 'l vano asalto facie il parpalglione
Bassare a lume per la chiaritate:
Così divien di quello opinione."⁽³⁾

The stag figure appears twice, a different version is given the second time; and the third is really a combination. The lion figure is used in the same way.

"Come lo ciervio avene
Voria che m'avenisse:
Che suo gran temporale
Rinnova, secondo agio audito dire,
E giovane diviene."⁽⁴⁾

(1) III. p. 16.

(2) IV. p. 248.

(3) IV. p. 292.

(4) III. p. 153.

"Chè sicome alo ciervio m'adivene
 chè là dov'è feruto inmantenente
 Ritorna al grido di chi 'l va cacciando.
 Ed io a voi, amando - fo ritorno,"(1)

"Sicome il ciervio che torna a morire
 Laov' è feruto si coralementè,
 E lo ciervio comincia a risbaldire
 Quando la morte venire si sente,
 Così facc' io che ritorno a servire
 A voi, madonna, se mi val neiente;"(2)

"E visto ò per usanza
 Chè lo leon per guida
 Cresce in vita, e rafida
 Li figli suoi di picciola possanza.
 Così i' leanza
 Poreste di me voi bene allegrando,
 S'io per usando
 Merzè chiamando,
 Un vostro comando
 Mi doneria possanza."(3)

"S'ella n'avrà, el uso ritenete
 Dello leone quand' è più adirato,
 Che torna umiliato
 A dir merzè li chiere, voi il savete:"(4)

It is interesting to remember that Richart de Barbézieux uses the stag image at the end of the poem we had occasion to quote previously - "Atressi cum l'orifans." There can be no question that Chiaro knew this particular poem. The Provençal is as follows:

"Aissi quo .l sers, que quant a fag son cors,
 Torna morir al crit dels cassadors,
 Aissi torn ieu, domna, su vostra merce;
 Mas vos no.n cal, se d'amor no.us sove."(5)

(1) III. p. 116.

(2) IV. p. 31.

(3) " p. 11.

(4) III. p. 13.

(5) Lommatsch p. 70.

Lastly we meet the nightingale and the crow, the hunting-hound and the good hawk:

(Addressed to Guittone d'Arezzo)

"Ma dopo l'ausingnuolo a suo cantare
Si leva la cornilglia a similglianza:
Lo primo loda, e sè pone im bassanza;
A me ver vostro dir simile pare:"(1)

"E l'uso del segu~~u~~sio vo' seguire
Quando il sengnor lo batte più cociente,
Se 'l chiama di presente
E torna, e mette in gioia lo languire."(2)

"Bono sparver nom prende senza artilgllo,
E chi ben caccia prender non si larga:
Chi dona il cor per un levar di cilgllo,
È uno proverbio ch' usan quei da Borga."(3)

Rhetoric language of this type, as we had reason to note in dealing with Provençal, is very closely allied to the beast fable

There is one passage which recalls forcibly the popular sonnet: "Tapina me ch'amavò uno sparvero." The idea is the same though the application is certainly different. In this case the escaping bird is not a faithless lover, but Chiaro's heart.

"Così divene a me similemente,
Com' al' asciello che va e no rivenè;
Per la pastura che trova piagiènte
Dimora in loco, e d'essa si contene.
Così il meo core a voi, donna avenente,
Mando perchè vi conti le mie pene:"(4)

(1) III. p. 136.

(2) III. p. 14.

(3) IV. p. 333.

(4) IV. p. 29.

Chiario Davanzati has left such an extraordinary mass of figures that one is almost overwhelmed by their sheer bulk. It could conceivably be asserted that rhetoric conceits are a fetish with our poet, he looks for them and inserts them, they do not appear to be spontaneous or inspired. Polished and skilfully handled as they are, the verse is enriched and stabilised by their presence, but sometimes we could wish them fewer and less artfully introduced.

We begin by giving a series of those rapid, light descriptive passages which we called "epithetical" for want of a better name and which of course are purely Provençal in character. The typical troubadour instance is that one from Arnaut de Mareuil to which we have often referred earlier - "Domna, la genser criatura, / Que anc formes el mon natura." Our Italian poet has penned his verses with the same delightful gaiety and grace:

"E son cierto che sete colorato
Di ambra, e di moscato lo sapore,
E d'ongne altro melgliore:"(1)

"Li denti minotetti
Di perle son serrati:
Labra vermilglie li color rosati:
Cui mira par che tute gioi' saetti."(2)

"Delgli alberi e fiori
E' verdori dei prati
E del' agna chiarore
E lume d'ongni spera,
Quale che m'a e tien per suo servente:

(1) III. p. 1.

(2) p. 111.

"Tratta tuti gli onori
 Deli piacenti stati;
 Soma il suo gran valore
 Natura di pantera;
 Lo suo dolze prende tuta giente;
 Imperiale corona veramente
 Di tuta la bieltate.
 È d'essere cortese
 Savia con umiltate;
 A lei inchina quant'è di piacere."(1)

Notice in the following group how the "angelica figura" betrays the influence of scholasticism. The idea of madonna's image being painted in the poet's heart is not new.

".....Angielica figura,
 (the lady speaks)
 "Si che mi porti avanti tua presenza
 Pinta in core, com'io sono 'n intalgia;"(2)

".....Del mio cor lomera
 Al mio parer passate,
 Come robino passa di valore
 Ongn' altra pietra, e voi l'altre d'amore;"(3)

The last example is addressed to Florence, not to the poet's mistress, but the style of address is exactly similar:

"Ai dolze e gaia terra fiorentina,
 Fontana di valore e di piagienza,
 Fior del' altre, Fiorenza,
 Qualunque à più saver riten rima:"(4)

The familiar Provençal fire and fruit images occur from time to time, and in a few instances they are blended. Although Chiaro

(1) III. p. 76.

(2) p. 118.

(3) p. 120.

(4) III. pp. 63.

is apparently much indebted to troubadour rhetoric language he could not be termed an artificial or uninspired poet. The artistic detail of the following fire figure proves his feeling for beauty.

"E sicome lo foco è colorato
Bello a vedere usato,
Chi lo toca è cociente
E divora presente
Ciò che gli è dimostrato,
E la grande alegreza fa dolente."(1)

Unfortunately the call of tradition is too strong and his next fire figure has nothing to mark it as different from the numberless other instances:

"L'Amore à la natura delo foco,
C'al primo par di picciolo possanza;
Sormonta e sale in grande altura il poco,
Inmantenente fa gioi' di pesanza."(2)

The maturing of fruit is a conception which could not fail to attract Chiaro - the blending of fruit and fire points to the fact that he is blindly following Provençal convention without much thought of artistic result:

"Madonna, agio veduto
Ongne frutto avanzare
Im sua stasgione e loco;
Al mio coninzamento
Così non è avenuto.
Ma per contraro, pare,
Nodrisciemi di foco."(3)

(1) III. p. 51.

(2) IV. p. 25.

(3) III. p. 135.

"Per lungo atendimento
 Ongne frutto pervene
 Veracientemente a sua stagione e loco:
 Al mio nascimento
 Simile nom avene,
 Chè com più tardo più dimoro im foco.
 Se non à loco - im voi merzè cherere,
 Nom pô parere - im me vita gioiosa:"⁽¹⁾

Then comes the "seed-bearing" figure which provoked considerable discussion earlier.⁽²⁾ The idea is in its essence Provençal and I do not doubt that Chiaro used it merely because the troubadours used it before him. It is an image eminently suited to love-poetry and our poet adapts it in a characteristic manner - his life, through his love, has come to maturity:

"Per voi fioriscie e grana
 La mia vita e sta sana,
 Che senza voi nom poria aver valore."⁽³⁾

Chiaro employs two images which are strikingly Provençal in tone, one that of Peleus' lance which has enjoyed an uninterrupted success from Bernart de Ventadorn⁽⁴⁾ onwards; the other, that of water in a sponge which since its first appearance in Peyrols⁽⁵⁾ has been equally popular.

"Così m'aven com Pallaus sua lanza,
 Ca del suo colpo non potea om guerire,
 Mentre ch'un altro a simile sembianza
 Altra fiata nom si faciea ferire."⁽⁶⁾

"Chè per merciè Amor fura lo core,
 Ed entravi sicom' aqua in ispungna."⁽⁷⁾

(1) III. 171.

(2) Cp. p.

(3) III. p. 38.

(4) Raynouard III. p. 43.

(5) Raynouard III. p. 278.

(6) III. p. 127.

(7) p. 173.

The next group of figures are also written in the same strain. I do not remember any bees in troubadour poetry, but there is occasional reference to honey, so we may take it that the tradition is the same. The freezing of water is one of those natural phenomena which the Provençals loved to quote. The central image of the drop of water wearing away stone is very unusual. I know of only one other instance of it, in Bernart de Ventadorn, and it seems highly probable that Chiaro was acquainted with that too:

Here are two apicultural figures:

"Che ven dolze più ch'ape
Lo frutto, poi ch'à 'l sagio." (1)

"Però chi ama, senta
Ciò che l'amor talenta,
E se fa come l'ape
Che per dolze cape
E per trafitta caciassi di loco" (2)

followed by the two practical ones, of which the first is to be compared with the Provençal of Bernart de Ventadorn:

(See next page.)

(1) III. p. 127.

(2) III. p. 173.

Followed by the two practical ones, of which the first is to be compared with the Provençal of Bernart de Ventadorn:

"Tant er gen servitz per me
 Son dur cor filh et iratz,
 Tro sia totz adoussatz,
 Ab ben dir et ab merce:
 Qu'ieu ai ben trobat legen,
 Que'l gota d'aigua que chai
 Fer en un loc tan soven
 Que tranca la peira dura."(1)

"Chè l'agua so gottando
 A dura pietra tolle,
 E partela che molle.
 Così per soferire
 Si proviede disire:"(2)

"Sicome per fredura
 L'aqua dighiaccia e prende già nom s'arende,
 Cotanto indura per adimorare,
 E dove per calura
 Sua durezza rinciende - si che contende
 Vertu del' una e l'altra per usare;
 Così avene d'amare" etc.(3)

The key comparison which we were accustomed to find frequently in Provençal is used by our Italian poet:-

"Serrato l'amor ave
 Lo cor com forte chiave,
 E dentro dale porte
 Si forte,
 Che per voi, bella, volesi morire."(4)

- Also the magnet figure which of course is equally common in Italian:-

(1) R. III., p. 81.

(2) III. p. 174.

(3) III. p. 174.

(4) III. p. 29.

"Ed è mi si vostra bieltà gradita,
 Che mai nom parto, sì mi par sovrana,
 Ma corre a ciò com ferro a calamita."(1)

The very arts and crafts are represented. So far as I know, Chiaro is the only Italian to employ a sustained archery figure, as in the following example, the gold refining figures are not so unique, although the second example is very original:

"Quando l'arciere avisa suo guardare,
 Fallo per ben colpir dirittamente:
 Poi s'elli falla, non è da laudare
 Se 'l colpo non agiungie veramente.
 Così del sagio per troppo parlare
 Aven, c'a dritto non è cosciente" etc.(2)

"E tuto ciò disia
 Lo mio cor, s'a voi piacie;
 E com' oro in fornacie
 Ci afina tutavia."(3)

"Si com' om nom sapiente
 Del fino oro lucente
 Facea dilisgion, piombo avanzava.
 Era simil di quelli
 Che vede il busco altrui,
 E non sua grande trave."(4)

We have had occasion before to notice a resemblance between Chiaro Davanzati and Marcabru. This resemblance suggests itself again in the type of scriptural reference used by the Italian. We must admit, however, that Biblical allusions are not infrequent in both languages:

(1) V. p. 20.

(2) IV. p. 371.

(3) III. p. 9.

(4) III. p. 80.

"Come Cain primero
 Di far crudele e fero
 Micidio fu, posso dire che sia.
 È la prima ch'apare
 Di sì gran fallo fare
 In tale guisa senza dir busgia."(1)

"Dunque saria rasgione
 Che 'n aira e 'm foco
 Come Caino stessee,
 Perché tradisgione
 In ciascheduno loco
 Similmente palese stessee."(2)

"Tanto abonda la giente fallacie,
 Che tutor grana deli frutti rei."(3)

"Ond' io mi doglio ch'em sì vano core
 Lungo tempo lo mio amore ò dato
 A Giuda ben la posso asumilgliare,
 Che basciando ingannò nostro Sengnore;
 Mai nessuno omo nom si puo guardare
 Da quei che vuole ingannar con amore.
 Vervilio ch'era tanto sapiente
 Per falso amore si trovò ingannato.
 Così fosse ongne amante vendicato
 Com' e' se vendicò dela fallente."(4)

The poet mentions Solomon, finally Samson:

"Ingannòmi l'amor come Sansome,"(5)

It is interesting to compare this last reference with Marcabru:

"Non saps d'Amor cum trais Samson?
 Aprop lo bon lanz vos gardaz,
 Ço diz Solomons e Daviz."(6)

(1) III. p. 81.

(2) III. p. 82.

(3) III. p. 83.

(4) Ibid.

(5) III. pp. 83 - 4.

(6) Dejeanne.

References to the romances are not very frequent. There are of course frequent slight mentions, but actual comparisons are rare. Thisbe and Morgana appear on two occasions:

"E ave più valere - e 'msengnamento
Che non ebe Morgana ne Tisbia;"(1)

".....La più amorosa
Che uom fue Tisbia o Morgana la fata;
Chè la sua bocca auliscie più che rosa."(2)

while our friend the savage still bears adversity with the same admirable fortitude and optimism:

"Fe' com' omo salvagio veramente:
Quand' à rio tempo, forza lo cantare
Co' lo sperare
Ca 'l buon vengna ch'abassi sua dolglienza.
Così pura credenza
Avea tutor nel suo rico valore,"(3)

"E s'io nollo fo com' om salvagio,
Ca nel cantare tanto si rimbalglia
Quand' à rio tempo c'atende lo bono;"(4)

The poet would become an assassin for his lady! Whether it is good taste for him to put her in the position of Old Man of the Mountain is questionable. But perhaps we are reading more into the lines than we should.

"E volglio per voi essere assessino
In tutto cio che'l vostro cor diisia."(5)

(1) III. p. 115.

(2) IV. p. 27.

(3) III. p. 19.

(4) IV. p. 31.

(5) IV. p. 260.

There are two passages which again show a distinct parallelism with Provençal. The poet chooses two rather unusual tales. The first is that of Tantalus, the second that of Narcissus. Both probably belong to an early period of poetry when Chiaro was going through a stage of what Bertoni calls "pedissequa imitazione." The Tantalus figure, indeed, is almost a translation of Perdigon's verse:

"Qu'ieu soi com selh q'en mieg de l'aigu's banha
E mor de set: et es dreitz, sous afi,
Qu'ieu mueira deziran del be
Qu'eu aurai dezirat aucise etc."(1)

"Ch'io sono ben come quel che si vide
Nel' acqua infino à denti,
E mor di sete temendo gli afranga,
Ma no' rimanga - in nelo scoglio afranto.
Così ag' io per somigliante eranza
Smisurata la sua dolce speranza;"(2)

while the Narcissus figure has its genesis in these lines by Ventadorn:

"Miralhs, pus me mirei en te
M'an mort li sospir de preon,
Qu'aissi.m perdei cum perdit se
Lo bels Narcisus en la fon."(3)

(1) Chaytor p. 15.

(2) pp. 24 - 5, cp. Perdigon, Chaytor p. 15.

(3) Chaytor, 'Troubadours of Dante,' p. 119.

"Come Narcissi in sua spera mirando
 S'inamorao per ombra ala fontana
 Vegiando se medesimo, pemsando
 Ferissi il core e la sua mente vana,
 Gittovisi entro per l'ombria pigliando,
 Di quello amor lo prese morte strana,
 Ed io vosta bieltà, rimembrando
 L'or a ch'io vidi voi, donna sovrana,
 Inamorado son s' feramente,
 Che poich' io volglia nom poria partire,
 S' m' a l'amor compreso strettamente.
 Tormentami lo giorno e fa languire:
 Com' a Narcisi parami piagiante
 Vegiando voi la morte soferire."(1)

This seems to me among the best of Chiaro's sonnets. The manner in which the figure is sustained, the completeness of the parallel and the harmony of the verse are admirable. As Gaspari says, "his originality and spontaneousness surprise us, sometimes just in those very cases where he is imitating."(2)

One of the finest things written by Chiaro is the poem describing the storm of love. The rolling periods are worthy of Milton. After all the austerity of the opening stanzas the entrance of the fish is delightful, its artless pathos recalls St. Francis, who, incidentally had no mean influence on the poets of his time. The struggles of the poor stranded fish are painfully realistic, and we would fain push him back into the sea, but alas the sea is unreceptive, and for Chiaro life must henceforth be land! Our gloom is not dispelled by the image of the uprooted tree.

(1) IV. p. 249, cp. also XXIX. p. 46.

(2) History of Early Literature. p. 93.

"Quando l'amor tempesta
 Per natura che gli ène,
 Delo suo tempestare gitta l'onda.
 E'n quella guisa alpesta
 È spesso che grand' ene
 La casgion che tempesta gli abonda.
 Vede l'ond' agitare,
 Giamai non vede posa,
 Enfin che quella cosa
 Che la fa tempestare
 Nom si parte da lui:
 Perch' è natura i' llui
 Di così far, quando giungie quell' ora.

.....
 E come pescie per lo mare stava.
 Istando più gioioso
 Nel mare d'ogni gioia,
 Ed un' ora crudele comincioe
 A farlo tempestoso
 Pur per me donar noia;
 Ond' io morte tosto n'averoe,
 Chè per suo tempestare
 Mi lasciò smisurato;
 Con un onda abutata
 Lungi m'è fuor del mare,
 E posto in tera dura,
 E tratto di natura
 Onde li pesci ch'indi ànno vita.
 Vegiando ched io sono
 Di star nel' acqua fora
 Assai isbatuto son per ritornare,
 Ma si sbatuto sono
 Ed ancor nom vi fora
 Per cierto dentro mai non tornare.
 Ond' è mia vita terra
 Più che nom fari im parte,
 Com' alber che si parte
 Quand' è verde da terra:
 Ma prego sire Deo
 Che 'n quella guisa ch'eo
 Moro, chi morir fami morir faccia."(1)

There is one other storm figure of the usual form, but handled with force equal to the first:

(1) III. pp. 70 - 72.

"Madonna, si m'aven di voi pemsando
 Come quel ch'è im perilgioso mare,
 E vede la tempesta sormontando
 E nom si turba, tant' à disiare
 Là ov' à il suo diletto memorando,
 Obrià per la spene del tornare
 Tutte le pene c'ave travalgliando,
 Tanto che vene a porto di scampare."(1)

In conclusion we find it possible to group together a certain number of figures which show the new forces at work in this transitional poetry, although the elements of change have not yet had a substantial effect on rhetoric language. In a curious passage which reminds one of the old contrast conceit Chiaro seems himself to indicate that new ideas are coming into play:

"Novo sapere e novo intendimento,
 Novel dimando e nova rispomsione,
 A nuovo fatto nuovo consilgiato:
 Vertù nom par per poco mostramento,
 Poco dimostro dà grande intenzione
 Folle fa saggio presgio per blasmato;
 D'agua ven foco, e foco se ne spengne,
 Tai cose son laudate non son degne,
 Chè 'l poco foco grande se la divora,
 Chi troppo parla, credo, invan lavora."(2)

although the time-worn crystal theory does push its way in. These new ideas take definite form for example in an astronomical figure. Astronomy is destined to have a growing influence in poetry until in Dante it becomes a preponderant factor.

"Dunqua, s'agio planete a grande altura
 E ciascun' à lo suo corpo formato,

(1) IV. p. 258.

(2) III. p. 4.

"Cielestiale nomato,
 Su per cielestial tereno usare,
 Per ciaschedun si salva meo parlare."(1)

It will be remembered that the central Italian poets added a new convention to the traditional rites of love in introducing the curiosity and mockery of the crowd. Yet another fashion is being created, namely that of calling upon all maidens to intercede with madonna on behalf of the poet. The device is really an important part of the "dolce stil nuovo" treatment of love and it is in Chiaro Davanzati that we find the first trace of it:

"Gli amador tuti quanti,
 Le donne e le donzelle
 Che d'amore ~~anno~~ cura,
 Com sospiri e com pianti
 Più che non son le stelle
 Assai oltre misura,
 Io fo priego di core
 Che priegnino l'amore
 Che mi traga d'eranza,
 Ed agiane pietanza:
 Ond' io agia cagione
 D'allegrare in canzone."(2)

A very important figure is that of the skipper which calls to mind the ship of life of Guittone. However the image itself is here not so important as the conclusion of the stanza where Chiaro introduces his new philosophy of love:

"Ma la sentenza non ispero 'nella,
 Perch' io ridotto non voi siate errato,
 Come 'l nochier che smariscie la stella
 Navica con temenza al tempestato.

 C'Amore è Dio, è Dio è fermamento:"(3)

(1) III. p. 2.

(2) III. pp. 87 - 8.

(3) IV. p. 369.

The Provençal idea that Madonna was created by God and desired by the angels is here expressed in an abstract form. We are coming very near to the philosophic conception of love developed by Guido Cavalcanti. Notice too the idea, expressed later, that love is born of thought:(1)

"Lo pensamento fa sallire amore,"(2)

which is another step in the same direction, love is becoming a mental quality.

At the same time the beneficial effect of love is frequently referred to, e.g.

"Quella che solamente d'un vedere
C'om di lei agia, sì lo fa pentere,
D'ogni ria volglia, donagli umiltate."(3)

The theory was common in Provençal poetry, in Sicilian poetry its popularity has lapsed considerably, here it is again raising its head and preparing to fill a substantial part in the new lyric.

There is a spirit of boldness and independence in the evolution of certain figures which shows that we are on the way to

(1) A brief summary of Chiaro's treatment of love is given by Bertoni:-

"Canto allora l'amore, senza indagarlo con la profondità dei poeti dello stil nuovo, tenendosi pago a concepirlo come emanazione divina. Iddio creando le cose, infuse loro un desiderio infinito d'amore; onde i serventi d'amore sono gli amanti di Dio. È una concezione teologica, che non arriva ancora alla grandezza di quella dello stil nuovo, ma rappresenta già un passo verso l'amore ideale." (Op. cit. pp 99)

(2) V. p. 75.

(3) III. p. 151.

emancipation. For example, there are three curious little images which we might term perhaps "calendar" figures. No description of them appears necessary, their purport is very plain though it would be hard to express their content in a more elliptical manner:

"D'avril e del' ora s'è gran diletto,
Poi ven lo maggio, cala lo suo afetto,
E perde per la troppo soverchianza;
Perchè di lei è troppa abbondanza."(1)

"Ma la gran gioia ch'è di voi corale
Al mio pascor mi fa far l'anovale."
Membrando, bella, ch'io di voi sia amante
El vostro viso sia per me diamante."(2)

"Ma vo' di lei semana e mesi fare,
E di voi pasqua e giorno d'alegranza,
Come la gioi' del mondo senza pare."(3)

These comparisons are difficult to define and must just speak for themselves. The following is an appeal to commonsense primarily:

"Om che va per camino
E ten verso levante
Per giungere al ponente,
Non averà rifino
D'andare al suo vivante,
Perchè nom fia giungiente,
Perchè quanto più va, vene lontano.
Così grande casgione
Sembra affannando, se non trova porto:

(1) III. p. 5.

(2) III. p. 142.

(3) V. P. 28.

"Così non diverrebbe prosimano
 Nullo senza rasgione
 Ala dritto sentenza di conforto." (1)

The next two are very interesting and original, and they both throw a little light on the life of that period. Chiaro has certainly watched the bridges building over the Arno:

".....dunque in disperanza non mi getto,
 Ch'i' ò visto d'una pietra solamente
 Cominciar ponte e venire ad effetto,
 Ed un volgioso basso esser potente:
 Ond' io medesimo gioia m'imprometto,
 Nè disperar già non mi vo' neiente.
 Chè quando piogia il tempo nuvoloso
 Im peca d'ora veggiolo schiarare,
 E divenire umile l'adiroso.
 Però non vô partir da voi amare," etc. (2)

Mirrors were probably very rare and Chiaro has seen a child so puzzled by its own image that finally it breaks the glass:

"Come 'l fantin ca nelo spelglio mira
 E vede a propietà (la) sua figura,
 Sì gli abeliscie, di presente gira,
 Parte per quel veder da sè rancura,
 Vôle pigliare per traresi d'ira,
 Non val neiente a contastar paura,
 Prende lo spelglio e frangiello per ira,
 Allora adoppia più ed ànne arsura.
 E ciò divien che 'l conciedette Dio,
 E dienne tutte cose in temporale
 E noi da lui lo prosediamo im fio" etc. (3)

In conclusion then we find that evidently the great number of Chiaro Davanzati's figures are inspired by Provençal, that imitation in occasional instances even becomes translation, but

(1) III. p. 96.

(2) IV. p. 271.

(3) V. p. 68.

that there is just as evidently an element of originality and a vein of new thought. The style and the careful manipulation of the parallels are perhaps the most striking qualities. The somewhat shallow mode of the Sicilians and the thoroughly heavy touch of Guittone d'Arezzo have been most happily blended by Chiaro Davanzati. His verse does not lack that lightness and grace which we learned to appreciate in Sicily, but it has a bedrock of sound syntax which makes it an infinitely superior vehicle of expression - its possibilities are greater than those of Sicilian or Aretine, and certainly its achievement is our poet's most valuable contribution to the new school of poetry. He indeed deserves the praise which Bertoni gives him:

"Come poeta, egli va tra i seguaci di Guittone; ma ragion vuole che si aggiunga subito che, in realtà, non è soltanto un puro e semplice guittoniano. È, invece, un poeta sensitivo, a cui talora squillano sul labbro versi pieni d'armonia e d'ispirazione."(1)

(1) Op. cit. p. 96.

After reading great masses of doctrinal poetry, we are left with a certain feeling of relief that the end has been reached, for nothing could be more wearisome than the productions of this transitional school. We feel emboldened to use the word imitation, to say even "pedissequa imitazione" in speaking of these central Italians. They copy Provençal rhyme, Provençal vocabulary and Provençal images, they even permit themselves to translate certain passages. The striking fact is that figures of speech are repeated to such an extent. As Gaspari points out in his "Scuola Poetica Siciliana," an image when adopted by the Italians is used far oftener than ever was done in the original language. For example "pescie a l'amo" which is used certainly once, perhaps twice in Provençal, appears so often in Italian that we become thoroughly tired of it. The same is true even of comparisons which are peculiar to Italy - for example, the wheel of fortune. We are impressed and interested in its first appearance but when we find it figuring in every petty ballad, it loses all charm. We cannot say too emphatically that repetition of this kind did not exist in Provençal poetry except perhaps in the descriptions of "midons" and of the May morning, it is an Italian defect due to sheer lack of inspiration and narrowness of outlook.

The transition lyric of course has its merits - Bertoni says of it:⁽¹⁾ "Codesta forma di poesia è ben lungi d'arrivare all'altezza dello stil nuovo: ma convien riconoscere ch'essa

(1) 'Il duecento, Storia lett. d'It.' p. 96.

"ha in se alcuni elementi, che la distinguono dalle rime della scuola Siciliana; è, cioè, più umana e più vera nella rappresentazione d'amore e, in genere, della vita interiore ed è opera di poeti che sanno imprimere ai loro versi un suggello di personalità," but the distinguishing elements enumerated by Bertoni are not such as would meet with universal approval. I would not say that the conception of love is either more true or more human, but simply that it is different. Indeed the tendency is to make love rather divine than human as we found in the poems of Chiaro Davanzati. It is, however, incontestable that the followers of Guittone had more power of depicting the inner life, due directly to the teaching of the schools. From Aristotle's "De Anima," from the works of St. Augustine and Thomas Aquinas they had a detailed knowledge of mental processes; it is from this time onwards that we find the body attended by a host of "spiriti" and "spiritelli." What Bertoni calls "un suggello di personalità" is just exactly what I have found so sorely lacking in these Tuscan poets. Apart from such outstanding personalities as Chiaro Davanzati, Bonagiunta da Lucca and Rustico Filippino, it seems absolutely impossible to distinguish between the poets, for even Guittone d'Arezzo, if we except his two great political addresses, has no outstanding "suggello" either of personality or style, he lacks the power of self-expression.

However, a little earlier in the same work⁽¹⁾ Bertoni almost contradicts the present statement. He contrasts the southern lyric with the Tuscan: "La prima poesia meridionale italiana non è al di fuori della vita.....ma non è chi non senta che qui non abbiamo l'imitazione vuota, manierata e affannosa di Guittone della prima maniera e dei guittoniani, imitazione fatta scopo a se stessa, e perciò sterile e vana. Nei poeti meridionali c'è qualcosa di più: ci sono i ~~fantasmi~~ della lirica francese divenuti italiani per effetto della parità o somiglianza delle condizioni di vita fra il regno normanno, e poscia svevo, e il Nord della Francia. Quando un popolo scopre se stesso, o quasi stesso, nel patrimonio poetico d'un altro paese, allora l'imitazione diviene un elemento sano ed efficace di poesia e può sostituire persino l'ispirazione originale."

Thus on the whole, our general impressions are somewhat depressing. Where figurative language is concerned, however, there is a distinct element of originality. The writers are beginning to seek images for themselves and to choose them very often from the world round about them. Feudal conventions have almost entirely lapsed, except the idea of service, which still persists, and the later poets have a much keener sense of reality. The political sirventese and tenzone which were not used by the Sicilians are of first importance here and invite a new vocabulary, while popular poetry enforces this element of truth and at the same time the life of the communes is reflected in

(1) p. 85.

various new conventions - that of the mocking crowd, the salutation in the street, and the appeal to "donne e donzelle" being the most important. Besides, although the figures lack originality and become tired from excessive repetition, they are different in one respect from their Sicilian and Provençal compeers; we mean that there is a difference in treatment. Speaking generally, the language in which the figures are couched is more substantial and the figures themselves are more scientifically worked out. Substance is the same but form has changed. This development of form must be traced, of course, to the teaching of the schools and to the formulae of scholasticism. How heavily the hand of logic weighs upon the verse! More often than not, all lightness and grace is crushed out of it, but these weary lines were paving the way for a style which would blend Provençal light with doctrinal shade and that style, we believe, was first achieved by Chiaro Davanzati.

The whole literature is like a battle-ground where the "angelica figura" appears side by side with the "rose aulente," the "fire of love" with the movement of the heavens. Chiaro Davanzati's works portray the history of this struggle and in his mind the victory is won. He consciously casts aside the plumes of the notary and turns his face towards the light, his "splendente luce" undoubtedly lit the path for Guido Guinizelli and the sweet new style.

APPENDIX OF FIGURES WHICH HAVE BEEN OMITTED
FROM THE TEXT TO AVOID CONGESTION.

-----ooOoo-----

"Ben è fuor di rasgione
Chiunque far volesse
L'aqua inver del cielo piogiare;"(1)

"Chè vostra cortesia
M'à fatto come l'antalosa facie
Ch'el suo diletto che tanto le piacie
L'aducie im parte e loco non sicuro."(2)

"Ma com fa l'ontalosa
Conven ch'io faccia a giusto mio podere,
Ch'al albero là dove viicostuma,
Sì si consuma per lo suo diletto:
Ed io simile aspetto:
Se non mi date, nom posso valere."(3)

"Che più è poderosa
La fiamma di splendore - che di calore,
Onde 'l core gentil ne prende usanza,
Che fa perseveranza
Più di servire, e ama
Che lo poder non chiama,
Ma stringielo misura;"(4)

"Dico a voi che membrate
Che nom pare nantire
Lo civalier che nantire non vole:
A'l torneio volgliendo cavalcare
Adimor due civalli;
E zo è ben rasgione
Che ciascuno de' avere suo guidare."(5)

"Uno disio m'è nato
D'amor tanto corale,

(1) D'Ancona e Comparetti vol. III. p. 100.

(2) Op. cit. p. 121.

(3) Op. cit. p. 171.

(4) Op. cit. pp. 172 - 3.

(5) Op. cit. p. 99.

"Che nom posso altro ch'ello.
 Come fuoco stipato
 Tutor sormonta e sale
 Raprendendomi 'n ello.

.....
 Così forte m'incama
 D'albore senza rama."(1)

"Gioia non ò nè spero,
 Ch'amor mi fa volere
 Senza l'ale volare,
 Ed in tal loco altero
 Ch'avrei prima podere
 D'esto mondo ~~disfare~~"(2)

(1) Op. cit. p. 85.

(2) Op. cit. p. 86.

Dolce Stil Nuovo.

"O frate, issa vegg' io.....il nodo
 Che il Notaro e Guittone e me ritenne
 Di qua dal dolce stil nuovo ch'i' odo."

Thus does Dante describe, through the mouth of Bonagiunta da Lucca, that new school of poetry to which he himself belonged, and notice that we have to deal with a change of style or manner because forms and conceits are largely the same. What does this development of style mean, we may ask. It is impossible to give any one answer that is wholly satisfying. Bertoni believes that the difference consists in a new power to describe the workings of the soul, to widen the bounds of thought and to make form and style a shining weapon:

"Dolce stile davvero, e nuovo, perchè capace di farsi interprete della vita interiore e degli stati psicologici più complicati e intensi.

La novità principale del "dolce stil nuovo" è sopra tutto questa: di iniziare nella letteratura italiana la vera poesia nobile e alta, alla quale non è freno l'imitazione, ma alla magnifica l'originalità del pensiero e arma lucente la forma e lo stile."(1)

Volpi claims that the most precious characteristic of the new style is the flexibility and harmony of its language, which

(1) Studi Med. II. Bertoni.

evolve despite the old metres and forms: "Realmente i poeti della novella scuola esplicando il pensiero in giri flessuosi di parole e snodando in nuove fogge la lingua ancor fresca, avevano trovati suoni più melodiosi, anche servendosi degli stessi metri dei loro predecessori, ed evitata ogni asprezza di stile."⁽¹⁾ The same writer suggests that the clarity of style and the popularity of the ballad form bespeak popular influence: "Nonostante ciò, l'arte dello stil nuovo si avvicinò al popolo, e lo mostrarono i suoi cultori sia nel riuscire più chiari, sia nel preferir alla sentenziosa canzone la ballata che ha più dell' andamento della poesia popolare."⁽²⁾

As if dissatisfied with his first explanation Bertoni applies himself twice again to the same task. He regards the "stil nuovo" as a happy release from the syllogistic aridity of Guittone d'Arezzo, in that the thought is developed clearly and expressed in images which "mirror" the idea and do not cloud it as frequently happened in the earlier lyrics; he shows too how the new conception of love has rid poetry of a great many stereotyped and empty comparisons: "Chi ricorda più l'affannoso sillogizzare per rima di Guittone e il monotono ripetersi dei motivi decrepiti dei poeti della scuola siciliana? Ormai l'immagine si fa a poco a poco specchio dell' idea, e il pensiero si svolge lucidamente attraverso una teoria d'impressioni terse e luminose. Il concetto d'amore acquista una significazione più profonda e

(1) S. L. It. III., Volpi.

(2) Ibid. p. 8.

"più vera, e la donna esaltata secondo le regole della cavalleria e cantata al modo dei provenzali con frase stereotipate e con vuote comparazioni, viene amata spiritualmente, cosicchè le sue virtù terrene si idealizzano nel nuovo canto e via muovono dalla terra al cielo, orientandosi verso un grado supremo di perfezione, raggiunto dalla Beatrice di Dante."⁽¹⁾

Finally he discovers that all trace of imitation of foreign models is gone and that in its place there is an absorption of poetic motives, expressed in what he now calls an absolutely personal style: "Non si tratta già di pedissequa imitazione, come avveniva anche nei migliori poeti siciliani, ma piuttosto di una vera e propria assimilazione di motivi altamente poetici, che sono in ogni modo, espressi con uno stile del tutto personale."⁽²⁾

While all these reflections are accurate and interesting, we yet are left with a somewhat confused impression, confirmed in the opinion that it is really an impossibility to state what exactly we do mean by style.

Before actually reading the texts in which the "dolce stil nuovo" is demonstrated, some light as to the nature of the new movement may be obtained by discussing those factors which probably brought about its existence; though we must keep to general statements because particular criticism involves so much controversy. Three elements then, seem to have combined in the producing of this new spirit - Scholasticism, Franciscan mysti-

(1) Giulio Bertoni - Il dolce stil nuovo in Studi med. Vol. II. (1906 - 7), p. 352.

(2) Op. cit. p. 363.

cism and the people. Scholasticism, it might be objected, was a preponderant influence in the *Lirica Dottrinale*. This is true of course, but the relation of Scholasticism to the *lirica* of the "stil nuovo" is something very different. The results of schoolteaching are shown in Guittone d'Arezzo precisely by that syllogistic form to which Bertoni refers, it is a superficial effect, the poet's mind has not been touched. But in the new lyric, the heavy scholastic method though still used, is used more judiciously and at the same time the poet's mind has been developed and changed as an immediate result of philosophic study. So far as it is possible to judge from the poems as a whole and from rhetoric language in especial, this mental evolution amounts to three things; 1) the power to concentrate upon one idea, 2) the power to develop this idea in a logical sequence i.e. the power of sustained thought, 3) clarity of thought. The immediate effect upon style is to bring about a new consistency, a new clearness of expression and a new calmness of manner - we no longer feel that the poet is labouring and wrestling with ideas that he cannot put into words.

The influence of Franciscan mysticism is less obvious but no less real. It is evinced in the constant yearning of the poet towards an ideal of perfection, a yearning which lifted his gaze right to the gates of Paradise. While his text-books on astronomy and his study of Thomas Aquinas taught him to span

the firmament, and to conceive the movement of the stars and the heavens, the "Cantico del Sole" encouraged that adoration of the strong sun running his race towards the west, which is so striking a feature of the new school. Undoubtedly the song of creation also awoke in his breast that love of "suora nostra morte corporale" which was to tinge the whole of the new poetry with a sweet melancholy. for in the "dolce stil nuovo" love and death go hand in hand. The Franciscan influence is patent too in the further abstraction and glorification of madonna; and in the new conception of the personification of love. Amore is now not unlike the "poverello" of Assisi. Finally the visions must unquestionably be a product of the religious life of the times. ^P The people play an important part now that poetry has come to stay in the communes. The poets write for a larger public, they wish to be clear so that they may be understood, they adopt the convenient sonnet form and the popular ballata. The conventions which we saw in the process of formation are now firmly established, that is to say, the idea of the mocking crowd pointing a finger at the lover's discomfiture, the appeal to the women and maidens of the community to help the poet and intercede for him, the potency of the salutation and a new, though small development which describes madonna as always accompanied by other damsels. We find the life of the people

portrayed in a way in which it has never hitherto been shown. The writers of the "stil nuovo" do not hesitate to tell us of the tavern life, of feasting and good cheer, of the hunt and the dice, of Luccia with her bright hood. The more sombre picture of unending struggle between Guelf and Ghibelline, Bianco and Nero, the terrible tale of imprisonment and exile; disease and death, finds a place in the tenzone and political sirventese. Perhaps the most outstanding characteristic is the friendship between poets and their correspondence in verse. Chains of sonnets make known to us the secrets, hopes and fears of friends, their petty jealousies and quarrels, their dry jests or their stern reproofs. Veteran comrades of many a fight discuss their political interests, while political enemies frequently engage in amicable discussion. The glimpses afforded us of unrest, cruelty and bloodshed fill us with wonder at the greatness of these Tuscan poets, who could put their sorrows aside for a moment and write of spiritual elevation, of beauty and divine love.

Turning now to detailed examination of certain problems we find that the main points for discussion are Scholasticism and mysticism again, the question of Provençal influence which promises to be a very thorny one, and the new conception of love which is really inextricably involved with all three and can hardly receive a separate treatment, without incurring the risk of artificial differentiation. Indeed it is merely for

convenience in writing that we make these headings, all the present elements are intimately connected.

The particular issues arising out of scholasticism are two in number. 1) The rôle of the spirits or spiritelli. 2) the matter of nobility. The use of "spiriti" and spiritelli" is perhaps the most striking characteristic of the new lyric. The idea is not wholly new, for even the Provençal troubadours spoke of love as "us esperitz cortés," while we have watched the growing use of the term in its present sense from the poems of Giacomo da Lentino onwards, but in the "dolce stil nuovo" the usage is developed to its utmost extent and in certain instances becomes a positive abuse. Guido Cavalcanti is probably most guilty in this respect. An explanation of the origin of the theory and its remarkable superstructure is given by Volpi:⁽¹⁾

"Lo studio dunque della filosofia fece considerare separatamente i modi di vita o principî (nutritivo, sensitivo, motivo e intelletivo) che materializzati dalla scienza col supporli un fluido sottile, uno spirito, vennero personificati dalla poesia; ma poi tutti i movimenti dell' animo, anche i sospiri, furono personificati e considerati come spiriti o spiritelli. Così il rossore della vergogna "è il rosso spiritel che appare al volto" (Cavalcanti) e l'impressione amorosa è uno spiritello che esce per gli occhi della donna amata e trova la via del cuore passando per quelli dell' amante. Il cuore stesso è personificato e

(1) Volpi: 'Storia letteraria d'Italia,' 'Il trecento.' p. 9.

agisce e parla; e l'anima pure. Così, con questi simboli gentili, i poeti dello stil nuovo si mettevano in grado di dar forma a tutte le fuggevoli impressioni dell' amore e di analizzare la loro passione obbiettivandola, vantaggio però che doveva riuscire pericoloso (e così fu realmente), perchè era facile perdersi nelle sottigliezze, nelle analisi minute."

The idea of nobility is the basis of this new theory of love. Love can only be born in a noble heart, nobility is independent of inherited rank and position, it is a moral quality. "Al cor gentil ripara sempre Amore" sang Guido Guinizelli, and this was destined to be the touchstone of the new manner of poetry. Dante too, was inspired by the same idea -

"Amor e cor gentil sono una cosa,
Siccome il Saggio in suo dittato pone."

While the troubadours probably never dissociated nobility from rank, there can be no doubt that they did associate nobility of heart with "fin amors," but this we shall attempt to prove later. Meantime the problem of "gentilezza" is treated by Bertoni; he begins by giving the Italian conception of the idea and tells us that it represents a reaction against the conventions and principles of feudalism, he proceeds to show how the new theory of love involves a spiritual victory which is manifestly achieved by the aid of scholasticism, he ends with a brief exposition of

the scholastic definition of the term: "E infatti uno dei punti di maggior rilievo della nuova poesia: la completa trasformazione del concetto della nobiltà, nel senso che è nobile soltanto colui che ha cuor gentile, non chi ha ricchezze e vanto d'illustri natali; deriva dalla filosofia scolastica e rappresenta, per così dire, una rivolta dello spirito contro i principi del feudalesimo!"(1)

"Questa nuova concezione d'Amore era una vittoria dello spirito, per ottener la quale bastava essere sinceri, interrogare la propria anima, purificandola dalle scorie di quel feudalesimo d'oltr' Alpe, a cui i Comuni italiani avevano già dato un colpo mortale. A facilitare questa vittoria spirituale, a far sì che finalmente i poeti si ripiegassero sopra sè medesimi e ne esprimessero chiaramente le intime voci, era venuta in aiuto la filosofia, che aveva parlato alto, per bocca di S. Tommaso, nello Studio di Bologna."(2)

"Del resto, già prima di S. Tommaso, Alberto Magno, insegnando a Bologna, aveva dovuto svilupparvi lo stesso concetto guinicelliano e dantesco della "nobiltà," perchè nel "De Causis" trovasi dichiarato uno dei punti fondamentali su cui poggia la nuova concezione: e cioè la teoria dei gradi generali, da specie a specie, e singolari, da persona a persona. E il "De Causis" costituisce probabilmente la principale fonte delle novità guinicelliane esposte nella celebre canzone "A cor gentile." "(3)

(1) Studi Med. II. p. 393. (cp. Dante - Le dolci rime d'amor ch'io solia - refutes answer of Frederick. - Convivio, IV.iii. Bertoni believes the troubadours and Sicilians to have had Frederick's conception of nobility.)

(2) Op. cit. p. 394.

(3) Op. cit. p. 395.

Why, after all, may we ask, should the poets of the "dolce stil nuovo" fasten upon this one subject of "nobility" and attach such enormous importance to it? Undoubtedly the suggestion came from the old Provençal troubadours - so say many critics; others suggest that it was an independent development, but this last view is rather hazardous, it would be marvellous indeed if some Provençal ideas did not filter into Tuscan poetry when we consider the importance and renown of that literature. There can no longer be any question of imitation, we have left imitation behind, but "poetic motives" may still be absorbed.

This brings us to the vexed question of Provenço-italian influence, which is taken up respectively by Bertoni, Cesare de Lollis and P. Savi-Lopez. Bertoni begins his discussion by saying that in the work of Bernart de Ventadorn there is a fore-taste of the conception of nobility: "C'era già stato, al di là delle Alpi, chi aveva gettato lontano i vecchi abiti poetici dei primi trovatori, nei quali la passione per la donna amata abbruciava le carni, senza accendere un raggio nell' intelletto e nel cuore. Bernart de Ventadorn, circa un secolo prima, aveva cantato, anzichè l'amore sensuale di Guglielmo di Poitiers e di Marcabruno, un sentimento più profondo e più nobile, fatto di ammirazione e infinita tenerezza per l'oggetto più caro al cuore e alla mente. Egli aveva affinato le sue rime al fuoco d'una più umana concezione d'amore e aveva lanciato a volo, pei

cieli della lirica di Provenza, una gamma dolcissima di note. Erano note gonfie di sentimento, fresche come rugiada e calavano soavemente sul capo di Madonna, a incominciare, come d'una ragazza luminosa, il bel viso non poria nessuna. Bernart aveva celebrato la purità dell' affetto, elevandolo al di sopra dei diritti di casta:

Que ren no vol amor qu'esser no deia,
Paubres e rics fai amdos d'un parage. (*Canpar la flors*)

e lo aveva cantato con voce che si può dire novissima al suo tempo. Eppoi, il raggio di questo 'fino amore' era passato, per così dire, nel petto di Guilhem de Montanhagol, amico del Cigala e a lui legato da stretti rapporti letterari, sino ad arrivare a scambiare rime con il nostro genovese."⁽¹⁾

In the first place, Bertoni's criticism is a wild exaggeration. He seems to have totally misunderstood the troubadour spirit - such a statement as the following is astounding: "la passione abbruciava le carni, senza accendere un raggio nell' intelletto e nel cuore." The remarkable fact in troubadour poetry is that this brute passion is united with a ray of mysticism and idealism in a way that seems at first inexplicable. The truth is too, that the coarse element is not so predominant as Italian critics often try to prove. Bertoni refers in another connection to the lewd subjects of the tenzoni, I know of only one of this type though there may conceivably be others. In t

(1) Op. cit. p. 661.

the first part of this very article which is devoted to the troubadour Marcabru, he permits himself to make the same charge and seems to take a sinister pleasure in picking out all the coarsest passages which he can find. It is a curious state of mind. After reading the whole of Marcabru's verse, it was such a quotation as this which remained a vivid impression:

"Qui ses bauzia
 Vol Amor albergar,
 De cortesia
 Deu sa maion jonchar;

 C'Amors s'embria
 Lai on conois son par.
 Blanch' e floria
 E presta de granar."

Bertoni has apparently not noticed these verses, but the element which they represent is just as predominant as the one which he has chosen to comment upon. As we have said on many occasions, the early troubadours have no moral sense, their passion is animal. They are not yet capable of living up to their ideals, but the ideals are there. Thus Guillaume of Poitiers whose poems are sometimes harsh and "macabre" to an almost unendurable degree, is yet capable of penning such lines as those:

"Per son joy pot malautz sanar;
 E per sa ira sas morir
 E savis hom enfolezir
 E belhs hom sa beutat mudar
 E.l plus cortes vilanejar
 E totz vilas encortezir."

It is evident from these quotations that the idea of "gentilezza" and of the potency of love is present in embryo from the very earliest times. Bernart de Ventadorn has been mentioned as showing a higher type of love than carnal passion, Gaulcelm Fal-dit points out too that love can be an uplifting force:

"Tug celh que amon valor
Devon saber que d'amor
Mov larguez' e guais solatz,
Franchisez' et humilitatz,
Pretz d'amar, servirs d'onor,
Gen teners, jois, cortezia;
Doncs, pois so'n mov, ben deuria
Chascus ponhar, qui bon pretz vol/aver,
De fin' amor leialmen mantener."⁽¹⁾

Aimeric de Pegullan says "amors es fina benvolensa, Que nais del cor e dels hueills ses duptar,"⁽²⁾ and in Richart de Barbé-zieux we go one step further:

"Tot atressi cum lo falex qui dissen
Vas son auzelh quan la sobremontat,
Dessindia ab douz' humilitat
Amors en selhs qu'amavon leyalmen.
Amors o fai, si cum lo bos austors
Que per talan no s mov ni no s desbat,
Enans aten tro qu'om l'aya gitat,
Pueis vol' e pren son auzelh quan l'es sors;
E fin amors aissi guarda et aten
Jove dompna ab enteira beutat
On tug li ben del mon son assemblat,
E no y falh ses amors, s'aital la pren."⁽³⁾

From this it is not far to Perdigon and Montanhagol:

"Quar fin' Amors no manda ges chاوزir

(1) R. III. p. 295.

(2) Diez p. 137.

(3) R. III. p. 455.

"Comte ni rey, duc ni emperador,
 Mas fin amic e ses cor trichador
 Franc e leial e que.s gart de falhir;
 E qui non sap a questz ayps mantenir
 Paratge aunis e si mezeis met jos,
 Car ad amor non es valens ni bos;"(1)

"Ben devon li amador
 De bon cor servir Amor,
 Quar amor non es peccatz,
 Anz es vertutz que.ls malvatz
 Fai bos, e ,lh bo.n son melhor,
 E met om' en via
 De ben far tot dia;
 E d'amor mon castitatz,
 Quar qui.n amor ben s'enten
 No pot far que pueis mal renh."(2)

Bertoni is persuaded that this last development is due to Italian influence conveyed by Lanfranc Cigala and Sordello, and by students from Bologna. The possibility exists, but the idea seems a little fantastic, because the theory of Perdigon and Montanhagol is a logical enough development of the early lines of Marcabru - "Love seeks his like." Whether the Italian troubadours influenced the Provençal or vice versa would be hard to determine, but common sense points to the latter solution. In any case Bertoni's last suggestion seems erroneous. The Provençals were not in the habit of going to Bologna to study, so far as I know, it was certainly not the usual practice, nor did they study law. They were generally of aristocratic origin and very often were destined for the church, the notaries were of the bourgeois class. De Lollis thinks the "dolce stil nuovo" owed

(1) Perdigon: Chaytor p. 11.

(2) Montanhagol: Coulet, II.11.

something to the last phase of Provençal - not so Bertoni - ~~the~~
~~direct necessity.~~

"Riconosco anch'io che "il dolce stil nuovo" ha più d'un punto di contatto colla nuova lirica occitanica, rappresentata, a cagion d'esempio, da Guilhem de Montanhagol. Ma io concepisco il fenomeno in senso inverso, e credo invece che agli albori dello stil nuovo siasi introdotta in Provenza una corrente poetica impregnata delle nuove idee. E gli intermediari dovrebbero essere stati Lanfranco Cigala e Sordello.⁽¹⁾..... il Cigala è di quelli che non considerano amore come peccato, ma lo credono invece voluto da Dio e lo esaltano quale fonte di virtù e di castità.....afferma che amore è prodotto di cuore gentile. Se Guglielmo di Montanhagol si dichiara innovatore, ciò vuol dire ch'egli pensava di gettare nuove voci nella lirica provenzale, facendosi quasi l'interprete delle ultime correnti di pensiero che venivano dall' Italia. E chi meglio del Cigala e di Sordello avrebbe potuto iniziare il Montanhagol alla nuova considerazione filosofica d'amore? Essi lo conobbero, tenzonarono con lui e godettero in Provenza di quel nome, che vale ad accrescere autorità alla poesia di un cantore.⁽²⁾

Cantò, come i nuovi poeti del dolce stile, che cagion d'amore sono gli occhi donde il cuore lo accoglie, se è gentile, e lascia ch'egli ne trabocchi per tutte le facoltà dello spirito. L'amore è concepita come cosa tutta spirituale dal Cigala, quì in

(1) Bertoni: Studi Med. II. p. 388.

(2) Op. cit. pp. 388 - 9.

questa sua concezione non si allontana certo da Sordello, dal Montanhagol e da Granet. La nuova onda armoniosa parte adunque dall' Italia ed è portata in Provenza dalla Musa dei trovatori italiani.

E senza ricorrere al Cigala e a Sordello, come intermediari fra la poesia nuova d'Italia e quella di Provenza, perchè non si può pensare senz' altro allo studio di Bologna, che era come la gran pompa aspirante e premente della coltura del medio evo? Le nuove idee, che della donna facevano un angelo, come si diffusero, ad esempio, in Toscana, poterono bene essere portate in Provenza dagli studenti d'oltr' Alpe, che eran dotti e poeti spesso e quasi tutti giuristi."(1)

In his notes to "Il Duecento" published later, Bertoni detracts from the above statement and concedes that the new ideas may have developed independently in both countries. This still seems to me rather an unsound judgment. It is difficult surely to get independent literary evolution anywhere, far less in two countries so intimately connected as Italy and Provence. Mutual influence is probably the secret to the riddle.

"Rinconosco ora di avere esagerata l'importanza di Sordello e del Cigala e ritiro quest' ultima tesi, alla quale sostituisco quella, che trova la sua dichiarazione nel testo di questo undecimo capitolo: che cioè, la poesia dell' "amore ideale" in Provenza e in Italia, possa essersi svolta quasi indipendente-

(1) Op. cit. p. 389.

mente, nei due paesi per effetto di nuove e mutate condizioni di coltura. In ogni modo, parmi che non si possa più parlare d'influssi notevoli provenzali sulla lirica del "dolce stile." Quest' ultima è essenzialmente italiana e inizia la nostra poesia nazionale."⁽¹⁾

A point of view almost diametrically opposed is taken up by Cesare de Lollis in his famous article "Dolce stil nuovo e noeldig de nova maestria." The thesis of De Lollis is based upon two arguments. In the first place he urges on three consecutive occasions the fact that the Provençal troubadours were as closely in touch with the schools ⁽²⁾ as were the Italians, the influence of scholasticism showing itself in the importance of form. He believes that the philosophic element which inspired the new Italian lyric was equally present in Provence and that the troubadours must be admitted to have preceded the Tuscans in the elevation of love to the realms of the mind. His second point is that in Provence itself there was undoubtedly a new poetic movement, one which was more widespread and of earlier origin than has hitherto been granted. He regards Richart de Barbézieux, Aimeric de Pegulhan, Aimeric de Belenoi and others as of equal importance to Montanhagol. The language of Richart de Barbézieux is specially commended to him by its release from the pale conceits of a former generation and he regards the latter's splendid sun figure as symbolical of the new conception

(1) Bertoni in notes to 'Il Duecento' (St. lett. d'It.) p. 281.

(2) e.g. such centres as Tours, Paris and Chartres.

of love and as outlining indeed, the ideas of Guido Guinizelli; and from this point he proceeds to that very happy figure which represents the "angielica creatura" of the "dolce stil nuovo" rising like some beautiful moth from a Provençal chrysalis.

The whole treatise is admirably sane and logical and the final judgments do not appear to be biassed. The idea always occurs to me that the Sicilian, the Doctrinal and the "dolce stil nuovo" have each a separate link with Provence, besides those chains which bind them each to each. The Sicilians received a heritage of poetic material and equipment, the Doctrinals sought new forms and new rhyme systems, delighting in the technical difficulties of the "trobar clus," the poets of the new school received inspiration or if you care, a "poetic motive." I cannot believe that the sun of Richart de Barbézieux did not shed some light on the path of Guido Guinizelli, especially when we consider that this particular troubadour was known and quoted so freely; but it is not possible at any time to be dogmatic in dealing with poetic impulse. We quote accordingly, certain parts of de Lollis' essay:

"E la formula della scuola era qualche cosa come il salvocondotto della ispirazione personale a cui dava il modo di estrinsecarsi con quella disciplinata uniformità che per noi è monotonia e nella lirica provenzale e nella nostra dei vari periodi delle origini.⁽¹⁾.....Qualche volta non è se non a traverso immagini che la novità, non ben nitida nella coscienza, dà bale-

(1) p. 21.

ni. Tale il caso di Riccardo di Barbézieux, un trovatore che si può dire esser stato popolare in Italia e che, proprio come il Peguilhan, ma con questo in più ch'egli saccheggiava a fondo i bestiarj, la preoccupazione d'un' arte decorata con festoni dottrinali dimostra anche mediante l'uso assai frequente di similitudini dall' ampio svolgimento. Che differenza tra quel povero amore che patteggia cogli occhi prima di lanciare il suo grido e l'amore quale costui lo rappresenta. folgorante sole estivo che percorre l'infinito arco del cielo in cerca d'un cuor degno e, se non lo trova, torna a inabissarsi, lasciando dietro a se le tenebre! Qui è il simbolo, solo. spedito agevole per l'espressione di novità non ancor ben delineate, che per gli occhi parla forte all' anima, come quelle similitudini luculente di celeste dignità alle quali il Guinizelli affidò i più nobili tratti della sua dottrina d'amore. Ma in alto riesce il trovatore a tenersi anche quando, subito dopo, un nuovo termine di confronto cerca in particolari ben caratteristici della vita cavalleresca. Non si libra forse anch' esso nel cielo quell' amore che con dolce umiltà discende nei cuor leali come un falco si cala a larghe ruote sulla preda sottostante? Concludendo: a me pare pur sempre ^e licita l'opinione che le vie del cielo fossero aperte alla poesia provenzale e che la creatura angelica dello stil novo. come una crisalide dal bozzolo, uscisse dal suo seno. E una riprova mi parebbe ravvisare nel fatto che,

anche dopo costituito nel suo definitivo assetto il "dolce stil nuovo," sopravvive nella poesia di Cavalcanti e Dante la rappresentazione d'amore resa tradizionale dai trovatori. D'altra parte, l'elemento filosofico che avrebbe dato vita a quella mirabile lirica italiana non dovè essere estraneo a quella provenzale neppur nelle sue origini.⁽²⁾

E bisogna convenire che su questa via li avean preceduti e messi i trovatori, i quali primi introdussero nel linguaggio d'amore la nota oggettiva del ragionamento filosofico, primi sollevando così (e tutto stava a principiarsi) l'amore ai domini dell' intelletto, i cui confini sono, come quelli del sentimento non sono. per virtù d'arte dilatabili; e, ciò facendo, si trovarono ad aver già sospinto così in alto la donna che non rimase poi altro ai novi poeti se non assegnarle come stabile sede il paradiso.

(2) pp. 19 - 20

I should like to draw attention in passing to the work of Vittorio Cian 'I contatti letterari italo-provenzali' the object of which is to show how little was the debt of the Italian Muse to the Provençal. "La poesia provenzaleggiante," he says, "è un troppo lungo e monotono prologo di musica straniera ad una meravigliosa opera di musica nazionale." The "dolce stil nuovo" bore merely in its form traces of the Provençal influence, he regarded the new lyric as being a complete revolution. "Fu un' emancipazione non lenta e faticosa, ebbe anzi i caratteri d'un moto rapido e vigoroso e di giunta rivoluzionario, perchè la nuova poesia s'informava a un principio diametralmente opposto a quello su cui riposa o meglio, per cui isterilè la vecchia, cioè il principio della libera, sincera, diretta ispirazione del cuore, che soppiantava, in antitesi assoluta, il principio della imitazione servile." From such quotations the general character of the book may be deduced.

Savi-Lopez is inspired, in a sense, by the article of Cesare de Lollis which we have been discussing. He asks primarily how the new ideal of love came to be created, how was it possible for the mysticism of St. Francis to be reconciled to the low opinion of women entertained by Aristotle and Plato? Lopez sees the genesis of the development in the later troubadours and believes that Chiaro Davanzati at least knew something of their writings. He agrees with Vossler that the "dolce stil

nuovo" achieved the union of scholasticism with the old poetic tradition, but he rightly points out that the important characteristic of the new Italian manner was its symbolical treatment of madonna. He refers again to the truth that the idea of "gentilezza" is not new and that even Aristotelianism had made its influence felt. He quotes the famous figure of Cesare de Lollis and finally suggests that Guido Guinizelli's reform had ancient and far-reaching roots:

"Come potè l'amore ideale, purificato da ogni impeto di senso, accordarsi con Aristotele e Platone, che della donna pensano così bassamente; o come potè dalla mistica scuola di frate Francisco, dalle pagine di San Bonaventura o di San Tommaso d' Aquino librarsi un novello ideale femminile?⁽¹⁾.....
I trovatori avevan già considerato l'amore come un alto fattore d'elevazione morale: fu dapprima un semplice raffinamento della sensualità, che finì col degenerare nella teoria dell' amore puramente ideale, con sì nobile vigore difesa da Montanhagol e da Guiraut Riquier. Di questa nulla seppero i nostri più antichi: ma ben la conobbe Chiaro Davanzati. Ora, di fronte alla tradizione poetica stava la Scholastica, per la quale non si consente all' amore razionale e virtuoso altro oggetto che divino; l'essenza dello stil nuovo sarebbe per il critico tedesco (K. Vossler) nell' accordo delle due tradizioni, in ciò che esso seguita ad esaltare la donna come l'esaltarono gli antecessori,

(1) Savi-Lopez p. 11.

"Che bella morte hom sagio
Dea di coraggio piu che fi

ma ne fa insieme un simbolo spirituale e divino. Dove la donna non assume un significato simbolico, è ancora lo stil vecchio.⁽¹⁾

.....Una confusione di principi mistici e razionalisti era nello spirito del tempo.⁽²⁾.....Da gentilezza nasce amore mentre nella più antica lirica d'arte neolatina era gentilezza il fiore e il frutto, e amore il seme. La Scolastica determinò questo concetto: stabilì che gentilezza è disposizione, possibilità di virtù - cioè, aggiunsero i poeti, d'amore.

Novità? Io spero di poter mostrare in seguito come questo non fosse se non il grave ammantamento dottrinale sopra una semplice verità psicologica già scoperta dai trovatori, nel raffinamento morale cui la poesia loro pervenne all'età del suo decadere artistico. Recenti studi hanno cominciato a lumeggiare le affinità spirituali di alcuni tardi trovatori con i poeti nostri.⁽³⁾

.....Amore nella tarda poesia trovadorica, spingono già visibili radici nel terreno dell'aristotelismo medioevale. E intanto, 'spirito cortese' chiama l'amore un poeta; un altro provenzale di lingua ma italiano di nascita, fa sentir nel suo verso quasi un'anticipata eco di dolce stil nuovo, cantando che Amore per destino deve nascere in 'cuor leale' - il cor gentile del Guinizelli:

"Foco d'Amore in gentil cor s'apprende
Come vertute in pietra preziosa."

Non è peccato Amore, si legge in un antico trattato di metrica, chè se delitto fosse l'amare non vorrebbe Dio legar d'amore an-

(1) Savi-Lopez p. 12.

(2) " p. 13.

(3) " p. 14.

che le cose divine.....il più cosciente artefice di quella
rinascita morale, Montanbagol - de Lollis - 'le vie del cielo
fossero aperte alla poesia provenzale e che la creatura angelica
dello stil nuovo, come una crisalide dal bozzolo, uscisse dal
suo senno.' Anche dopo costituito nel suo definitivo assetto
il dolce stil nuovo, sopravvive nella poesia di Cavalcanti e di
Dante la rappresentazione d'amore resa tradizionale dai trova-
tori.(de Lollis)⁽¹⁾.....

Ancora si crede che Guido Guinizelli iniziasse la grande riforma
nei tre versi troppo citati che scusano a Dio il suo amore ter-
reno:

".....Tenea d'angel sembianza
Che fosse del to regno,
Non fea fallo s'eo li posi amanza."

No: neanche questo ponte gettato tra la terra e il cielo, nella
chiusa d'una canzone, questo misterioso accordo divino rivelato
dall' armonia d'una serena creatura umana, sono la vera novità
del dolce stile. Per altre vie più lontane, per altri porti
men noti s'era rivelato al pensiero medioevale il mistico ac-
cordo, fuori d'Italia, prima che in Italia."⁽²⁾

"Fuori d'Italia, prima che in Italia" - these words sum up the
opinion of Savi-Lopez and Cesare de Lollis.

The influence of mysticism is most fundamentally impor-
tant in the new conception of love. As Bertoni points out it
is the spiritual elevation of love in the "dolce stil nuovo"

(1) Savi-Lopez p. 15.

(2) " p. 16.

which marks the strongest difference from the two earlier schools: "Dai versi di Guittone e da quelli della scuola Siciliana s'eleva un ideale femminile, che risponde alquanto a quello del maggior numero dei trovatori e che consiste nel vagheggiamento senza limiti di due occhi azzurri, di due trecce bionde, di un esile corpo e di due bianche mani. Talvolta anche la nota voluttuosa fa capolino insieme ad una sensualità quasi morbosa. Invece la donna, nella nuova poesia, è trasportata in regioni più nobili, è quasi spiritualizzata e sollevata dalla terra al cielo, in quanto si celebrino non soltanto le bellezze del corpo, ma le virtù dell' animo." (1)

In the early troubadours as we had previous occasion to point out, profane love and mystical love existed side by side - the gulf between the two was enormous. In Sicilian poetry the mystical adoration of madonna has almost totally disappeared. profane, chivalrous love born of feudalism, holds full sway. In the doctrinal lyric this same treatment of love appears, but it becomes more abstract, it is severed from the realm of feeling and becomes a mental process. In the "dolce stil nuovo" a great rush of mystic feeling bridges the gulf between pure love and courtly love, blending the two:

"I Provenzali, per conciliare i concetti, che sembravano contraddittori, dell' amore per la donna e del culto di Dio, avevano ricorso alla teoria dell' amore puro e dell' amore misto. I poeti

(1) Bertoni Studi Med. II. pp. 370 - 1.

del dolce stil nuovo risolsero invece l'antitesi, innalzando la donna ancor più che non avessero fatto quella occitanica; quasi divinizzandola e simbolizzandola, sì ch'essa dalla fusione, operata dal Guinizelli, delle teorie scolastiche con le trovadoriche, uscì fuori non più donna, ma angelo, a cui eran dovuti rispetto, amore, adorazione. Amando la donna così sublimata, si compieva un atto virtuoso: d'onde il connubio di amore e virtù, cantato dal Guinizelli. "Al cuor gentil ripara sempre amore."⁽¹⁾

Scherillo has pointed out in his 'Fonti provenzali della Vita Nuova' that the tremor of the poet before his lady, is in the new school the result of religious awe, whereas in Provençal it merely indicated a wave of passion. "Neppure il 'tremore' innanzi alla donna amata non cui ~~sembra~~ sia lo stesso in Dante e nei Provenzali, come lo Scherillo vorrebbe. Il tremore, vero o finto, dei trovatori è l'esitanza dubbiosa di ogni amante d'innanzi all' amata che sia dappiù di lui; quello di Dante è il tremore del profano di fronte alla visione sacra."⁽²⁾

Bertoni draws attention to the same point. The pallor of Dante before Beatrice reminds him of the ecstasy of S. Bernardo at the thought of Mary. He tells us that a vein of Franciscan influence is apparent in the poets of the new school and remarks with great justice that the relations between Francis and Santa Chiara had something of the same spirit as the relations between

(1) La Vita e le Opere di Guittone d'Arezzo, A. Pellizzari, Pisa, 1907.

(2) Scherillo, 'Fonti provenzali della V.N.', G'S', p. 272.

a poet and his lady. He refers too, to the undoubted influence of the Poverello in the new characterisation of Amore:

"Quello scolorire di Dante di fronte a Beatrice, così squisitamente espresso nella 'Vita Nuova,' come uno degli effetti della donna amata, ricorda da vicino la gioia profonda di San Bernardo, piena sempre di terrore al pensiero della Vergine." (1)

"Già in Dante (e anche, un poco, negli altri poeti del dolce stil nuovo) questa tendenza mistica, dinanzi alla quale piegavano le ale i versi e le immagini degli altri poeti, traeva un nuovo alimento da un' innegabile educazione francescana fluttuante in fondo allo spirito. Direi quasi che negli effetti prodotti dalla donna sul poeta e in tutta la nuova significazione ideale, che alla donna è riserbato nel dolce stile, si sentono alcune lontane reminiscenze dei rapporti fra San Francesco e Santa Chiara." (2)

"Gli attributi d'Amore cadono per i nuovi poeti, e il dio si presenta povero e meschino, come in questi splendidi e celebri versi dell' Alighieri:

"Cavalcando l'altr' ier per un cammino,
Pensoso dell' andar, che mi sgradia,
Trovai Amor nel mezzo della via
In abito leggier di pellegrino.
Nella sembianza mi pareva meschino"...." (3)

The same author is of the opinion that all questions on the nature of love were undertaken by the new poets in a religious spirit. Their minds were filled with the teaching of Augustine

(1) Bertoni Studi med. II. pp. 368 - 9.

(2) Op. cit. p 369.

(3) Ibid.

and St. Thomas of Aquin, and their conduct towards madonna received a decided impulse from the worship of our Lady:

"La soluzione di questi quesiti (che e amore? etc.) e data come potevano darla uomini addottrinati e consumati negli studi dell' eta loro studiando S. Agostino e poscia Gregorio Magno e S. Tommaso, i nuovi colti poeti, il Guinizelli e gli altri, ne assorbivano le idee; poiche l'educazione altro non e in fondo che una forma d'imitazione e venivano perciò a trovarsi di fronte alla donna amata nella stessa condizione in cui trovavansi i padri e i dottori della chiesa di fronte a Maria Vergine. Per questo nella donna cantata dalla nuova poesia c'e quasi un riflesso di Maria." (1)

This long prelude with its various controversial points brings us at last to the poets themselves. Who were they and what nature of men were they? Volpi tells us in the Storia d'Italia: "Erano questi rimatori quasi tutti del fiore della cittadinanza; uomini attivi e che si sollevavano dalle brighe giornaliere colle alte speculazioni e le gentilezze dell' amore, legati tra loro in amicitizia, i quali si confidavano scambievolmente i loro affetti, s'inviavano i loro versi, si desideravano compagni nelle sognate felicità. Non è meraviglia quindi se, pur seguendo ciascuno la propria ispirazione, da questa comunanza di vita uscisse somiglianza di opera artistica." (2)

Guido Guinizelli is the first of these - he whom Dante called his father "e degli altri suoi miglior, che mai Rime

(1) Bertoni Studi med. II. p. 368.

(2) Volpi Storia lett. d'Italia, III.

d'Amore usar dolci e leggiadre." He was of the noble family of the Principi and is mentioned in documents after the year 1266, latterly with the title of "judex." He was a victim of the political unrest of the day as were so many other poets and was exiled from Bologna in 1247 when the Ghibelline party was banished. He died in 1276. To Bologna is given the praise of having produced the first poet of the "dolce stil nuovo."

Guido Guinizelli's poetry still bears certain marks of the old school; he uses a few of the traditional figures and occasionally indulges in a piece of "trobar clus," but despite this fact, his diction always remains as limpid and crystalline as a spring of clear water. He makes a frequent use of figures of rhetoric and these are characterised by extraordinary visual power - he is frequently described as "un poeta visivo," and by great realistic force: Bertoni says of his - "giungeva talvolta ad una potenza rappresentativa mirabile per via di un raffronto o di un' imagine desunta dalla realità delle cose."

No separate edition of the poems of Guinizelli exists, they are collected in full in the 'Rime dei Poeti Bolognesi del Secolo XIII.' Casini, Bologna, 1881. As they do not bulk very largely we shall abandon the somewhat artificial method of classifying figures and treat them in sequence, following Casini's order.

The first figure is that of a ship, written in the style

of Giacomo da Lentino:

"Nave, ch'esce di porto
 Con vento dolze e piano,
 Fra mar giunge in altura;
 Pò ven lo tempo torto,
 Tempesta e grande affano
 Li adduce la ventura;
 Allor si sforza molto
 Como possa scampare
 Che non perisca in mare:
 Così l'amor m'ha colto
 E di bon loco tolto
 E messo al tempestare."(1)

It is an idea which must always appeal to poets and their readers, thus we are not surprised to find it persisting. Then comes a wholly delightful explanation of thunder and lightning adopted in order to show us how the poet's will clashes with that of his lady. I need hardly point out that the figure is entirely new, we owe it to Guinizelli's teaching in the school of Bologna:

"Madonna, audivi dire
 Che in aire nasce un foco
 Per rincontrar dei venti;
 Se non more in venire
 In nuviloso loco
 Arde immantementi
 Ciò che ritrova in loco:
 Così le nostre voglie
 A contraro s'accoglie,
 Unde mi nasce un foco,
 Lo qual s'estingue un poco
 In lagrime et in doglie."(2)

We are reminded, however, of the old feudal character of the

(1) p. 6.

(2) Ibid.

poetry by such expressions as this:

"Greve cosa è servire
Segnore contra talento."(1)

Like Giacomo da Lentino Guido has a predilection for the painting figure. He introduces the word in a slight hyperbole:

"Chè s'eo voglio verdire
Credo pingere l'aire."(2)

and develops it almost at once into a full comparison:

"Ch'omo che pinga bene
Colora viso tale
Che li conven mai tale
E soffrire orgoglianza:
Perche a me conviene
Soffrir ciò che avviene,
Ma eo voglio soffrire
Tutto lo meo penare,
Perch' eo non ho penar - lunga stagione."(3)

Drawing and painting were quite possibly taught in the schools, Dante himself tells us how he drew an angel on the anniversary of the death of Beatrice. The following stanza gives a suggestion of the changed aspect of love, but it is choked at once by the time-worn salamandra figure which in its turn is followed by as confused a jingle of "sole" and "pantera" as any disciple of Guittone could wish for. Remember that Guido was for a time under the influence of the Aretine and expressed great admiration for him:

(1) p. 7.

(2) Ibid.

(3) pp. 8 - 9

"La soa beltà piacente
 E'l fin amor, ch'è puro

 Già per cui lo meo core
 Altiscie in tal locore
 Che si ralluma como
 Salamandra in foc' vive,
 Chè'n ogni parte vive - lo meo core."(1)

"D'un' amorosa parte
 Me ven voler che sole
 Che in ver me più sole
 Che non fa la pantera,
 Che usa in una parte
 Che levantisce sole
 Chè di più color sole
 So viso che pantera."(2)

We come now to Canzone V. - "Al cor gentil ripara sempre amore," that song which ushered in the new spirit and which was destined to have such far-reaching results. The central theme is the truth that love is born in a noble heart and that nobility does not depend upon rank; the poet thus deals a last and effective stroke to the conventions of feudalism. Moreover, it is in this very canzone that the reconciliation of human and divine love takes place: "Giustificare divanzi a Dio l'amore, quindi l'arte; accordar l'amore e la poesia d'amore, all' armonia del pensiero cristiano, sollevandolo a un' austera solennità: questo era il gran problema degno d'un grande: e lo risolvè il Guinizelli."(3) So says Salvadori, and indeed so much has been written and said upon the subject of this poem that it seems superfluous to add anything fresh - impossible, rather, for any suitable criticism

(1) p. 9.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Salvadori, Rassegna Nazionale, vol. LXVI., p. 220.

could not fail to be a paraphrase of opinions already stated by some eminent author. The most comprehensive treatment, and perhaps the most sympathetic, is that of Zingarelli in the *Storia d'Italia*; and accordingly we quote two passages from it:

"Ora questo amore è una forma delle nostre aspirazioni al vero, a Dio, sicché la donna infonde perfetta beatitudine ad immagine di quella che gli angeli comunicano ai cieli. Così il nostro mondo per effetto della gentilezza si fa simile al Paradiso; e un tale amore non è punto peccaminoso, perchè noi appiamo adorata la donna come un aspetto di Dio, come un angelo."(1)

"Questa la canzone del Guinizelli è una concezione altissima originale: quanto di più delicato e nobile poteva mai immaginar della donna quell'età cavalleresca, qui è superato; anzi la cavalleria purificata e accompagnata con la scienza qui piega in ginocchio innanzi alla fede; nella figura della fede sta una donna in cui traluce la bellezza divina. L'importante sta qui nella natura della concezione; non è un misticismo estramondano e vuoto, che si pasce di fantasmi della menti e rifugge dalla terra: ma accanto gli resta l'umanità con la scienza e l'amore della donna; sorge quindi un ideale umano altissimo e perfetto che per il suo contenuto e valore etico si può paragonare con l'ideale classico."(2)

Amid the mass of literature which has accumulated on the subject one might almost be guilty of omitting to study the poem itself - such is the danger in over-commentation:

(1) p. 55.

(2) pp. 55 - 6.

C. V.

"Al cor gentil ripara sempre amore
 Com' a la selva augello in la verdura
 Nè fe' amore avanti gentil core,
 Nè gentil core avanti amor natura,
 Ch' adesso che fo' il sole
 Sì tosto lo splendore fo' lucente
 Nè fo' avanti il sole;
 E prende amore in gentilezza loco
 Così propriamente
 Como clarore in clarità di foco.

Foco d'amore in gentil cor s'apprende
 Como vertute in pietra preziosa:
 Che da la stella valor non discende,
 Avanti 'l sol la faccia gentil cosa;
 Poi che n' ha tratto fore,
 Per soa forza, lo sol ciò che li è vile,
 La stella i dà valore.
 Così lo cor, ch'è fatto da natura
 Eletto pur gentile,
 Donna, aguisa di stella, lo inamora.

Amor per tal ragion stà in cor gentile
 Per qual lo foco in ania del doppiero (candelabra)
 Splende a lo so diletto, chiar, sottile.
 Non li staria altrimenti, tant' è fero;
 Però prava natura
 Rincontra amor como fa l'acqua il foco
 Caldo, per la freddura;
 Amor in gentil cor prende rivera
 Per so consimil loco,
 Com' adamas del ferro in la minera.

Fere lo sole il fango tutto 'l giorno,
 Vile riman, nè 'l sol perde calore.
 Dice om altier: gentil per schiatta torno;
 Lui sembro 'l fango, e 'l sol gentil valore,
 Chè non de' dare om fede
 Che gentilezza sia for di coraggio
 In dignità di rede,
 Se da vertute non ha gentil core:
 Com' acqua porta raggio,
 E'l ciel riten le stelle e lo splendore.

Splende in la intelligenza de lo cielo
 Deo creator, più ch'a nostri occhi 'l sole;
 Quella 'ntende 'l so fattor oltra 'l velo,
 Lo ciel volgendo a lui ubidir tole,

"E consegue al primero
 Del giusto deo beato compimento:
 Così dar dovria il vero
 La bella donna, che negli occhi splende
 De 'l so gentil talento,
 Che mai da lei ubidir non si disprende.

Donna, deo me dirà, che prosumisti?
 Siando l'anima mia a lui davanti:
 Lo ciel passasti e fino a me venisti
 E desti in vano amor, me per sembianti:
 Ch'a me conven le laude,
 E a la reina del reame degno,
 Per cui cessa ogni fraude.
 Dir li potrò: tenea d'angel sembianza
 Che fosse del to regno,
 Non fea fallo, s'eo li posi amanza."(1)

It would be vandalism to attempt an analysis of the figures in this poem, we shall content ourselves with drawing attention to the blaze of light which floods the whole, and with pointing out the charm and novelty of the "doppiero" comparison.

Canzone VI. affords two original figures, the first of which is strikingly so, it is of the same category as the thunder image and purports to be an explanation of magnetic attraction. The "lode-stone mountains" lead us to think at first that Guido Guinizelli is referring to the mountains in the North of Spain whose richness in iron ore deflects a ship's compass within a certain radius; but the "perch'è lontana" is very disconcerting. Evidently the bridging of the distance between these mountains and the iron requires the assistance of the compass needle - the application of the figure is perfectly clear, the lady is throned upon the mountains and needs no help to make her power felt afar.

(1) pp. 15 - 17.

The second figure is one of those ingenious devices by which the new poets described mental phenomena in concrete terms; the halting speech of the poet due to the paralysing effect of love is dramatised in a very quaint and pleasing manner:

C. VI. (Madonna, il fino amore ch'eo ve porto)

"In quella parte sotto tramontana -
 Sono li monti de la calamita,
 Che dan vertute a l'aire
 Di trar lo ferro; ma perch'è lontana,
 Vole di simil petra avere aita
 Per farlo adoverare,
 Sì che l'ago si drizza ver la stella;
 E vo' pur sete quella,
 Che presedete i monti de 'l valore
 Onde si spande amore;
 E già per lontananza non è vano
 Chè senza aita adovera lontano.

 E so ch' ogne parato e saggio fino
 Ch'amor che m'ha in dimino
 Mostra ch'ogne parola ch'eo far porto
 Pare uno corpo morto
 Feruto a la sconfitta de'l meo core,
 Che fugge la battaglia u' vince amore."(1)

The objective treatment of psychological processes is a distinctive feature of the new movement, in the following canzone it is developed still further and we find a good typical instance of the "occhi core ed amore" system. Notice how the poet gives free rein to his imagination at the end and tells us that his heart at last is like some sorely tormented thing, dying in its bed and lying at peace!

C. VII. (Tegno! di folle impresa,)

"Di sì forte valor lo colpo venne
 Che gli occhi no 'l ritenner di neente,
 Ma passò dentro al cor che lo sostenne

(1) p. 20.

"E sentèsi piagato duramente:
 E poi li rende pace
 Si como troppo aggravata cosa,
 Che more in letto e giace;"(1)

The attraction of light soon makes itself felt again - a little gleam appears and the full sunlight shines out:

"Chè la più bella donna è che si trove,
 Et infra l'altre par lucente sole."(2)

"Ben è eletta gioia da vedere
 Quand' appare 'nfra l'altre più adorna,
 Che tutta la rivera fa lucere
 E ciò che l'è d'incerchio allegro torna;
 La notte s'apparisce
 Com' il sole di giorno da splendore;
 Così l'aire scclarisce
 Onde 'l giorno ne porta grand' enveggia,
 Ch'ei solo avea clarore,
 Ora la notte igualmente 'l pareggia."(3)

Notice the use of "rivera" - the broad river-side, which is destined to become very popular - it is only natural that this should be the case in central Italy. The character of this particular light figure is not, of course, new, such comparisons existed in early Provençal, e.g.

"Qu'om no la ve que no se mir,
 Quar sa beutatz resplan tan fort
 Nueg n'esdeve jorns clars e gens,
 A qui l'esgarda de dreg huelhs."(4)

"Si quo' l solelhs sobr' autr' alumnamen
 Nos ren clardatz, ben puese dir eyssamen
 Qu'ilh es clardatz, e rent alumenatge."(5)

(1) p. 22.

(2) p. 22.

(3) p. 23.

(4) Peire Rogiers, R. III., p. 38.

(5) Cadenet, R. III., p. 250.

Another outstanding characteristic of the "dolce stil nuovo" is the curious pre-eminence given to death. "Suora nostra morte corporale" appears side by side with love, and the flaming sun casts a dark shadow. What exactly the poets mean by death is a little hard to determine, the content of the word varies. The phenomenon appears early in the sonnets, sonnet X. opens with a curiously artificial reminiscence which presently gives way to the cold pallor of death, I bear death written on my face, says the poet:

Sonnet X.

"Che sovente ore me fa svariare
Di ghiaccio in foco

.....
Ascosa morte porto in mia possanza
E tale ministrate aggio co 'l core
Che sempre di battaglia me minaccia;
E chi ne vol veder ferma certanza
Or miri, se sa leggere d'amore,
Ch'eo porto morte scritta nella faccia."(1)

Sonnet XI. shows a curious conflict between the old and new aspects of love - the expression "deità de l'alto deo d'amore" is indeed the meeting of pagan and christian scholar, it is followed by one of the traditional glorifications of madonna, carried to a very exaggerated point - the flowers bloom, cries the poet, when you appear:

"Pare che in vo' dimori ogni fiata
La deità de l'alto deo d'amore;
Di tutto compimento sete ornata
E d'adornenze e di tutto belliore,
Chè 'l vostro viso dà sì gran lumera

"Che non è donna ch'aggia in sè beltate
 Ch'a vo' davanti non s'oscuri 'n cera;
 Per vo' tutte bellezze so' affinate
 E ciascun fior fiorisce in soa manera,
 Lo giorno quando vo've dimostrate."(1)

Traces of the old manner are apparent in the twelfth sonnet.

The familiar figure of fruit coming to maturity appears, followed by the queen of France and a rather lame conclusion:

"Non te cessar per reo semblante dato
 Che molto amaro frutto si matura
 E diven dolce per lungo aspettato.

 Ben me rassembra reïna di Franza
 Poi de l'altre me pare la più gente."(2)

The system of love with all its appanages is clearly set forth in sonnet XIII. The salutation of the lady and her glance awake love to battle; he sends his dart through the poet's heart, which rends it considerably. He is bereft of speech like one who sees death approaching. Love passes through his eyes like the thunderbolt through the windows of a tower, life and spirit leave the poet, he stands like a bronze statue:

"Lo vostro bel saluto e 'l gentil sguardo
 Che fate quando ve 'ncontro m'aucide,
 Amor m'assale e già non ha reguardo
 S'elli face peccato o ver mercede,
 Che per mezzo lo cor me lanciò un dardo
 Che d'oltra in parti lo taglia e divide;
 Parlar non posso che in gran pena eo ardo
 Sì como quello che soa morte vide.
 Per li occhi passa como fa lo trono,
 Che fer per la finestra de la torre

(1) p. 30.

(2) p. 31.

"E ciò che dentro trova spezza e fende;
 Remagno como statua d'ottone
 Ove vita nè spirito non ricorre,
 Se non che la figura d'omo rende."(1)

A magnificent star figure appears in sonnet XIV. The treatment is a little different from customary procedure in that it seems to arise from a real love of nature. The poet sees the morning star before the dawn is up, to him it seems like a face looking down, a face which soon becomes that of the poet's lady:

"Vedut' ho la lucente stella diana,
 Ch'appare anzi che 'l giorno rend' albore,
 C'ha preso forma di figura umana
 Sovr' ogn' altra me par che dea splendore;
 Viso di neve colorato in grana
 Occhi lucenti gai e pien d'amore;
 Non credo che nel mondo sia cristiana
 Sì piena di beltate e di valore.
 Et eo da lo so amor son assalito
 Con sì fera battaglia di sospiri
 Ch'avanti a lei di dir non seri' ardito;"(2)

Sonnet XV. is not so happy. It describes the assault which love makes upon the poet and how he struggles to repel the attacks, he is struck down as if by a thunder-bolt or a sudden squall of wind, the eyes and heart blame each other for their sufferings, a light passes through his eyes and strikes his heart even as a bird is struck down.

"Dolente, lasso, già non m'assecuro
 Che tu m'assali, amore, e me combatti;
 Diritto al to rincontro, in piè non duro

(1) p. 32.

(2) p. 33.

"Che mantenente a terra me dibatti,
 Como lo trono che fere lo muro
 E'l vento li arbor per li forti tratti;
 Disè lo cor a gli occhi: per vo' muro,
 Gli occhi dicèn al cor: tu n'hai disfatti,
 Apparve luce che rende splendore,
 Che passao per li occhi e 'l cor ferio;
 Ond'eo ne sono a tal condizione:
 Ciò furo li belli occhi pien d'amore
 Che me feriro al cor d'uno disio,
 Como si fere augello di bolzone."(1)

XVI. is a most happy blending of the light, graceful, Provençal description of madonna and the spiritual potency of the new ideal of love. The lady passes along the road "adorna e gentile," where she gives her greeting pride is humbled, the wicked dare not approach, nor can any man think evil when he gazes on her:

"Voglio del ver la mia donna laudare
 Et assembrargli la rosa e lo geglio,
 Como la stella diana splende e pare
 Et ciò ch'è lassù bello a lei assomeglio.
 Verde rivera a lei rassembro et l'aire
 Tutti colori e fior, giallo e vermeglio;
 Oro e azzurro e ricche gioi' per dare
 Medesimamente amor raffina meglio.
 Passa per via adorna e si gentile,
 Ch'abbassa orgoglio a cui dona salute,
 E fa'l di nostra fè, se non la crede,
 E non si po' appressar omo ch'è vile;
 Ancor ve dico c'ha maggior vertute:
 Null' om po' mal pensar fin che la vede."(2)

One of the poet's most beautiful and original touches is the image of the falling autumn leaf - the poet is "disnaturato" like the withered leaf, but because his roots are withered - for him there will be no green shoots in the spring:

(1) p. 34.

(2) p. 35.

XVII.

"Disnaturato son com'è la foglia
 Quando è caduta de la soa verdura,
 E tanto più ch'è 'n me secca la scoglia
 E la radice de la soa natura:"

Guido's two concluding figures are taken from nature. He describes the struggles of the bird in its snare to illustrate the attempts of the unhappy lover to free himself from his entanglements. In a totally different connection he tells us that as the various birds fly freely through the heavens on "their several occasions," so God has created different types of mind and knowledge - we must therefore not be too dogmatic in our judgments.

"Soletto come tortora voi' gire," etc.(1)

XIX.

"Omo ch'è preso non è in soa balia,
 Conveneli ubidir, poi n'aggia doglia,
 Ch'a augel lacciato dibattuta e ria
 Che pur lo stringe e di forza lo spoglia."(2)

XXI.

"Volan per aire augelli di stran' guise
 Et han diversi loro operamenti,
 Ne tutti d'un volar ne d'uno ardire:
 Deo e natura il mondo in grado mise
 E fe' dispari senni e 'ntendimenti,
 Però ciò ch'omo pensa non de' dire."(3)

There are several poems of doubtful origin attributed to Guido Guinizelli. A list of the figures contained in these will be found at the end of this section.

The impression left by the rhetorical language of Guido

(1) p. 36.

(2) p. 38.

(3) p. 41.

Guinizelli is that of a great advance. The beauty of the imagery is striking, the inward eye is constantly delighted with symphonies of light and pictures of flowery river-banks. A love of nature makes itself felt from time to time and the quaint personification of mental processes has all the charm of novelty without the artificiality produced in later poets by excessive use. The teaching of the schools is evinced in occasional scientific figures, but these are never dull or arid as in the *lirica dottrinale*. The stability and orderliness of general treatment proves that as Bertoni says the lyric of Guinizelli is built upon a scientific substratum. In conclusion we quote a general appreciation of Guido's work from the article by Bertoni in *Studi Medievali* II.

"La poesia del Guinizelli celebra la più nobile aspirazione dello spirito, l'amore, e canta le bellezze della natura con accenti severi e profondi non mai prima d'allora uditi. Egli è che la sua lirica riposa sopra una concezione filosofica e dottrinale della vita, mentre la poesia preesistente, e anche la coesistente, la siciliana e guittoniana, ricopiava sentimenti e idee di poeti provenzali, senza guardarsi intorno. Egli è anche che, temprata negli studi filosofici, la poesia di quel gentile cantore, che fu il Guinizelli, conosce e canta le vittorie dello spirito e l'influsso di esse sullo sviluppo degli elementi che costituiscono la società."

It would be a mistake not to point out before terminating this section that nearly all the poets of the "dolce stil nuovo" describe at one time or other the feelings of earthly passion. I do not mean that they descend to the coarseness of a Cecco Angiolieri, they give vent rather to an energetic realism which contrasts strangely with their usual acceptance of love. Guido Guinizelli has left one charming sonnet inspired by Luccia with her many coloured hood. The ardent desires awakened by her bright eyes are checked by the dictates of prudence and the poem ends on a humoristic albeit wistful note - what Bertoni calls "un tristo sorriso." We take it that many of these poets are beginning to know when they are being ridiculous.

POEMS OF DOUBTFUL ATTRIBUTION.

"Ah, che per gli occhi passao, similmente
 Como per vetro passa
 Senza lo dipartire,
 E oltra luce de lo sole spera;
 E como specchio passa immantenente
 Figura, e no' lo passa,
 Me credo, a lo ver dire,
 Lo meo cor è partuto e morte spera.

 Ch'a Pelleus la posso assimigliare,
 Feruto di soa lanza
 Non guerria mai, s'altrove
 Con ella forte no' lo riferisse." (1)

"Ch'a simigliante de lo bon segnore
 Quand' omo a chi combatte
 S'arrende per oltrato,

"Ogne fallire e torto li perdona:
 Si segnoreggia in ella nobel core
 Che de 'l leone abbatte
 Orgoglio sormontato
 E umiltate ha messa in lei corona."(1)

XXVI.

"La bella stella, che il tempo misura,
 Sembra la donna che m'ha innamorato,
 Posta nel ciel d'amore;
 E come quella fa di sua figura
 A giorno a giorno il mondo illuminato
 Così fa questa il core
 De li gentili, e di quei c'han valore,
 Co'l lume che ne 'l viso le dimora;
 E ciaschedun l'onora,
 Pero che vede in lei perfetta luce,
 Per la qual ne la mente si conduce
 Piena virtute a chi se n'innamora;
 E quest' è che colora
 Quel ciel d'un lume che a li buoni è duce,
 Con lo splendor che sua bellezza adduce."(2)

"E porto pinto ne la mente il viso;"(3)

E la figura sua ch'io dentro porto
 Surge si forte ch'io divengo morto:"(4)

XXVII.

"Che eo non ho sentero
 Di salamandranente,
 Che ne lo foco ardente
 Vive, e me conven morte pigliare.(5)

 Pero sacciate che in tal guisa pero
 Com' omo ch'è in lo mare
 E la serena sente
 Quando fa'l dolce (canto) ch'è si fero
 E l'om ch'è piacentiero
 De lo canto piacente
 Si fa in ver lei parvente,
 E la serena aucidelo 'n cantare.(6)

 Sono feruto d'uno dardo intero;
 Ciò è il vostro guardare.

(1) p. 47.

(2) p. 53.

(3) p. 53.

(4) p. 54.

(5) p. 56.

(6) p. 57.

"Che si amorosamente
 Me dimostraste, ch'ora m'è guerrero;
 E sì como sparvero
 Posso dir veramente
 Ch'eo son pres' malamente,
 Quando l'ausello vede cibellare.(1)

 Et eo pietanza chero,
 E ritorno tenente
 Al vostro son frangente,
 Sì com cervo ch'è lasso di cacciare."(2)

(1) p. 57.

(2) p. 58.

Among the immediate disciples of Guinizelli is Onesta da Bologna, a poet of a more complex and pessimistic turn of mind, he is often regarded as the master of Cino da Pistoia with whom he exchanges several sonnets. His manner of writing is much more akin to that of the doctrinal poets. The influence of Guido Guinizelli is shown merely in the superficial treatment of love - the style lacks pliability and lightness. The figures are very confused, the first two we encounter being particularly so. One, would possibly be explained by study of the astrology of the time. The other is couched in explicitly scholastic formula and contains several slight comparisons, none of which are, however, original:

"Piacemi d'esser vostro ne la luna,
 Stella d'amor, a qual me son segnato;
 Ell' ha il meo core da 'l vostro furciato
 E voglio aver che n'è cosa comuna:"(1)

"S'eo non temessi la ragion di prima,
 Tal colpo donerei a la seconda
 Che de la terza, com di ferro lima,
 Levava più de la maestra sponda.
 Ma 'l so amore, che me tonde e cima
 E sbatte piu che sasso di mare onda,
 Me fa tacente di non dire in rima
 Quel che par che la vita me confonda;"(2)

A purely Provençal passage follows, in which there is nothing to excite remark:

"O falso amor, che credi di me fare,

(1) Casini p. 82.

(2) " p. 87.

"Perchè condotto m' hai in toa prigione?
 Tu vedi ben che non me posso aiutare
 Da te, che sei piu fero che leone."(1)

We are surprised indeed to find his satanic majesty appearing in the next figure - it is a most unusual occurrence:

"Ma eo t'ho già udito assimigliare
 Al diavol de l'inferno, che dà pena
 Pur a toa gente e l'altra lassa andare;
 Sì che parmi che tenghi quella mena,
 Chi più t'ama colui fai più penare
 Sì che mai non pò uscìr di toa catena."(2)

We come next upon a passage which clearly shows the influence of Guido Guinizelli. We find "eye and heart" conventions, the predominance of death and the same objective treatment of psychological phenomena. The style, however, is much less pleasing than that of Guido, it is a little heavy:

"Quella che in cor l'amorosa radice
 Me piantò nel primier ch'eo mal la vidi,
 Ciò è la dispietata ingannatrice,
 A morir m'ha condotto; e s' tu no'l cridi,
 Mira gli occhi miei morti in la cervice
 Et odi gli angosciosi de 'l cor stridi,
 Et de l'altro meo corpo ogne pendice
 Che par ciascuna che la morte gridi.
 A tal m'ha giunto mia donna crudele:
 Da 'l ver me parto ch'eo non v'aggio parte
 E so' gli, amico, tutto dato in parte,
 Che 'l meo dolzor con l'amaror de 'l fele
 Aggio ben misto; amor poi si comparte,
 Ben te consiglio di lui servir guarte."(3)

Onesto's last figure is of the moralising type, he employs a

(1) p. 91.

(2) p. 91.

(3) p. 95.

series of those common sense figures which were so popular with the disciples of Guittone d'Arezzo. They have little to commend them, being odd rather than effective:

"Quel che per lo canal perde la mescola
 Già mai non torna a ciò se non la trova;
 Cademi in mar ghirlanda, vo e pescola,
 Fol senza rede, perdo affanno e prova.
 La mia persa studioso accrescola,
 Cade la brina, non val che su i piova;
 Per gran freddura l'oseletta adescola,
 Talor la piglio e non è cosa nova.
 Grande sapere senza esperienza
 E potente signor non operando
 Fan como quel ch'al mar butte semente.
 Di ciascheduna cosa la sentenza
 Me fa doler di te tanto, ch'eo spando
 Spesso con gli occhi il dolor de la mente." (1)

Semprebene da Bologna is a minor poet of the same group. He has left one long figurative passage but it is of a superficial variety. In the first part there are constant tags of Provençal conceits and then we find ourselves in the second part, transported into the world of spirits and pale death. Semprebene has obviously been affected by Guido Guinizelli's mode of writing, but the influence has merely extended to language and vocabulary, our poet has not understood or felt that new spirit which underlay the new rhetoric cloak.

"Non ho giorno di posa
 Com' è nel mare l'onda:
 Core, che non te smembri?
 Esci di pena e dal corpo te parte;
 Molto val meglio un' ora

(1) p. 114.

"Morir, che pur penare;
 Che non po' mai campare
 Omo che vive in pene,
 Nè gaudio nol sovene,
 Nè pensamento ha che di ben s'apprenda.
 Tutti que' pensamenti
 Che miei spirti divisa,
 Sono pene e dolore
 Senz' allegrar, che non li s'accompagna,
 Et in tanti tormenti
 Abbondo in mala guisa
 Che 'l natural colore
 Tutto perdo, sì il core isbatte e lagna;
 Or si po' dir da manti:
 Ch'è ciò, perchè non more,
 Poi ch'è sagnato al core?"(1)

The poem "Como lo giorno quand'è dal mattino," generally ascribed to Percivalle Doria, is attributed by certain manuscripts to Semprebene.

Paolo Zoppo da Castello is given by Casini as one of the same group but he belongs rather to the transition period, the old and new elements are still in conflict. The poet's first figure is one of a mortally wounded man - it belongs certainly to the new manner:

"Ch'amor è cosa molto dubitosa,
 Si com omo ch'a mort' è piegato
 Che mor tenendo soa piaga nascosa;"(2)

But almost at once we are confronted with a passage which is virtually a paraphrase of Perdigon's robber figure. It will be remembered that this idea occurs also in Dante's *Convivio*⁽³⁾ so that it is possible that there may have existed a fable on

(1) pp. 134 - 5.

(2) p. 117.

(3)

this subject. Paolo's language however is extraordinarily^{like} that of Perdigon. We shall quote both passages, beginning with the Provençal:

"Ben fetz Amors l'usatge del lairo
 Quand encontra cellui d'estranh pais
 E il fai creire qu'aillors es cos camis,
 Tro que li di, "Bels amics, tu mi guida;"
 Et en aissi es mainta gens trahida
 Que.l mena lai on puous lo lia e.l pren;
 Et eu puese dir atressi veramen,
 Quez ieu seguí Amor tan que.l saup bo,
 Tant mi menet tro fui en sa preizo." (1)

"Ladro mi sembra amore poichè fese
 Si como fel ladrone fa sovente,
 Che se 'n via trova quel d'altro paese
 Fa i creder ch' el fal cammin certamente.
 E 'nganna quel che soa guida prese
 Promettendol menar seguramente;
 Menalo là o' no i vallon difese
 E poi si 'l prende e trattal malamente.
 Sembiantemente me deven d'amore
 Che lui seguiu, credendo di lui bene,
 Et el me prese e'n tal loco m'addusse;" etc. (2)

It is curious that Paolo Zoppo adopts the thunder figure, although he gives a different aspect of it than does Guido Guinizelli concentrating upon the lightning flashes which he describes with great vividness.

"Si como 'l balenato e foco acciso
 Sembra fra l'aire iscura e poi risprende,
 Poi lo so lume appare e distiso
 Per gran fortuna 'l forte tron discende,
 Ch'om trema di paura et è d'avviso
 Che ciò poss' esser vero a chi lo 'ntende;
 Così isguardando ch'eo sono sì priso
 Da li soi occhi respiandor me rende." (3)

(1) Chaytor C. II.

(2) p. 118.

(3) p. 119.

The next comparison reminds us once more that poetry is now a thing of the towns, it tells us of a man walking along a street at night carrying a lantern which gives more light to others than to himself, and parallel with this image he puts the panther simile, the panther herself being unaware of her own sweet breath, this last idea is probably Paolo's invention:

"Si como quel che porta la lumera
 La notte quando passa per la via,
 Alluma assai più gente de la spera
 Che se medesimo che l'ha in balla,
 Et una bestia c'ha nome pantera,
 Ch'aulisce più che rosa o che lomìa,
 E rempie d'aulimento ogn' altra fera
 Et ella par che cura non ne dia;
 Così, madonna, de le gran bellezze
 Non par che v' inalziate la persona,
 Ma rallegrate ciascun che ve mira;
 Ma se vedeste un' altra che l'avesse,
 Anzi la prendereste che corona,
 Ne gabbereste 'l cor chende sospira." (1)

Our poet writes some very amusing verses to one "Pietro," who apparently had sent him a moral homily. It would do honour to Solomon, David, Merlin or Samson, says Paolo, but Paul was a perverse saint. The sly humour is very pleasing, it is a relief to find poetry becoming more human and to discover that poets are beginning to laugh at one another's expense without harshness or brutality:

"Maestro Pietro, lo vostro sermone,
 Sacciate, m'è piacente e ciascun verso,
 Fora gran meraviglia Salamone

(1) p. 120.

"L'avesse detto in prosa o ver per verso,
 Davit, Merlin o ver lo bon Sansone;
 Solo fu Paulo santo di perverso,
 Però qualunque ha bona intenzione
 Ver me, ver lui certo non l'ha inverso." (1)

The last figures which are all contained in one poem, are thoroughly Provençal in character. The poet will sing like the bird in the green wood, he will hope like the skipper who comes to a safe port after a stormy passage, he compares himself to a child who believes his dream is true and finally says in rather an unconvincing tone that he is like the season of leaves and flowers:

"E vogliola cantare
 E far cantare altrui,
 Gentil donna, per vui,
 Si com' augiello, che per gran verdura
 Diletta in dolzi soni che li piace." (2)

.....

Io canto e me conforto
 Sperando bene avere,
 Com' om c'ha grande avere,
 Che campa di periglioso loco
 Et or è giunto a porto
 Con tutto so volere,
 Pensando che 'l nocere
 Li torneria in gran solazzo e gioco:
 Così m'este avvenuto,
 A me che sono stato
 In un mar tempestato;
 Or sono a porto e gittato paro
 Sovr' ancora che non so mai lasciare." (3)

.....

Ma faccio como fa 'l fantin che crede,
 Quando sogna esser grande veritate." (4)

.....

(1) p. 125.

(2) p. 126.

(3) p. 127.

(4) Ibid.

"Eo somiglio a la state
 Ch'adduce foglie e fiori;
 Divisat' ha i colori
 Quella, per cui eo sto fresco e gioioso;"(1)

Casini's collection is closed with a group of anonymous poems. Nothing in this would point to a "dolce stil nuovo" influence except an occasional "angelica figura" and the graceful style of the whole. The figures are dainty and harmonious but are thoroughly Provençal in character as the reader will easily observe:

"Viso che d'ogne flore se' formato,
 Scolpito et incarnato - per ragione,
 E del sole uno raggio te fo dato
 Lucente et infiammato - per calore,
 E di doe stelle fusti affigurato;
 Viso smerato, - tolto n' hai lo core,
 Et ha' me preso e di foco infiammato,
 Che non me posso partir nessun' ore.
 Sì me prendisti, quando resguardai
 Vostre bellezze, angelica figura,
 Che nessun' ura - me posso partire;
 Mostrandone 'l cler viso, me inflammai
 Di foco, che di morte aggio paura
 Se 'l me s'oscura - lo vostro splendore.(2)

E tremo più sovente che la foglia,(3)(4)

Ciascun omo de' avere temperanza
 In ne l'altezza po' che l'ha' quistata,
 Che non discenda sì como balanza(5)
 Da l'una parte ch'e troppo carcata;"(6)

"Clara fontana che sorge al nitore
 Sovra li altri posto m'hai 'n altezze;
 Conforto me donatutto bonavalore, zze.

(1) p. 128.

(2) p. 145.

(3) p. 146.

(4) Cp. Bernart de Ventadorn, Lommatsch p. 37.

(5) Cp. Folquet de Marselha, Stronski p. 64.

(6) p. 148.

"Tanto me piace vostre avenentezze.(1)

Ben rassembra piu che stelle
Lo so viso a riguardare.(2)

Per te patisco doloroso affamo
Piu che non fe' per Isotta Tristano,(3)

.....
Per ciò fazo fine al meo trovare,
Po' che per te son giunto in tal penare
Che mai non campo del pelago e mare
Si tempestoso,
Se 'l to bel viso piacente e amoroso
Nom pone a porto ch'eo sia gioioso
E facciam d'ogne bene avventuroso
In allegrezza."(4)

Guido Orlandi is described by Volpi as follows: "popo-
lano attivo e autorevole, che nella guerra di Montaperti fu de-
putato con altri ad approvare i balestrieri, che era del Con-
siglio delle Capitadini, appartenendo forse all' arte del Cambio,
il 24 novembre 1272 quand si discuteva sul modo di eleggere i
priori, e proponeve per questo magistrato la durata in carica
di sei mesi.....nel regno d'amore portò il suo spirito acre
e la smania di discutere.....una durezza ben diversa dalle
asperita scolastiche de' rimatori antecedenti a cotesta scuola!"(5)
With regard to this last point, Bertoni thinks a little differ-
ently, he says: "Guido Orlandi da Firenze non è del tutto sci-
olto dagli impacci dello stile guittoniano; anzi lo diresti, a
ragione, nutrito di quel linguaggio poetico, fatto di compara-

(1) p. 149.

(2) p. 152.

(3) p. 167.

(4) pp. 168 - 9.

(5) Storia lett. d'It. III., pp. 15 - 16.

zioni e di sottigliezze, che a noi, diversamente educati, riesce il più delle volte oscuro e talora incomprensibile."

We begin with a chain of old expressions which ring the changes on the idea of service, passing into the comparison of the hunted stag at bay; then comes a curious little simile "humble as the olive," which leads to the rose. The next sentence brings a delightful and original description of a fairy harbour with lily-grown banks into which the poet has escaped from those "impacci" of which Bertoni speaks. The latter has commented upon this particular illustration of Guido's happier manner: "Ma egli talvolta trova immagini ricche di colori e piene di soavità nella loro gentilezza"(1) Without further delay we quote this passage:

"Come servo francato (2)
 Son servo d'amore
 Membrandomi l'onore
 E' ben ch'io presi nel primero stato.
 Stato gioioso presi di lui tanto
 Che mi poria dar vanto
 Sed eo volesse dir quanto riservo.
 E rinovello d'amore; di tanto
 Porto cortese manto.
 Libero sono, confessomi servo.
 E fo sì com' il cervo
 Passando corso intero
 Dimostrasi leggero;
 Volgesi al grido quand' egl' è stancato.
 Volto mi trovo umil come l'uliva,
 Che prende e non ischiva
 Virtù di rose nè di fior novelli
 Condotta sono in porto d'aigua viva,(3)
 Con diletta riva
 Piena di gigli colorati e belli,
 Con voce dolce e clera

(1) Studi Med. II. p. 381.

(2) p. 21. "Liriche del dolce stil nuovo" Rivalta.

(3) p. 22.

"La dimane e la sera;
Perch' io gioioso vivo innamorato."

The next group of figures is entirely lacking in the new spirit. There is a good figure from hawking, then comes a comparison to a crane in flight and then a somewhat meaningless flower and fruit figure.

"A fren tirato sprono e vo seguendo.
Blasmo chi lo combatte,
Poi bon astor non sbatte
Sovra del guanto quand'è pasturato;
Perch'è ben forsennato
Chi tal segue falloire
Dicendo per errore:
Io amo tale e da lei son amato."

(Reply of lady.)

Simiglianza di grue
Tenut' ò di volare.
Ora non sbatto l'ale ne le movo,
Servando lo pensare
Di non seguire in drue.(1)

Donna, non soneraggio
Nota di gioia 'ntera
Per fiore che mi frutti ne per foglia."(2)

It is strange to find the old tree allegory appearing again in a fairly elaborate form. It was not usual for the troubadours to depict love in this fashion, the various vices and virtues were as a rule the only material chosen for this particular figure of rhetoric. Short expressions such as "rams di jois," "cims e razitz d'ensenhamen" are of course frequently met with. Guido Orlandi treats the subject in the following manner:

(1) p. 24.

(2) p. 25.

"Lo gran piacer, ch'i'porto immaginato
 D'un albore fogliato diletto,
 M'à fatto disioso
 D'amor seguir guardando nella cima.
 Guardando nel piacere del su' ramo,
 A diletta chiamo
 Amor, che la merce non s'abandoni.
 E prego lui che mi sia nutrice
 La sua viva radice,
 Et ancora da mia parte le ragioni;
 Chè viver senz' amore non è vita
 Di fine gio' completa. Ciò è vero:
 Non ama ben intero
 Chi prima vol dorare e poi lo lima."(1)

Notice that the passage ends on that proverbial note so characteristic of Provençal lyric poetry.

In a sonnet on the need for moderation in love "amar for misura è gran fallore" Guido lapses entirely into the moralising tone of the doctrinal writers, his text is, that one must not judge the fruit by the flower, telling us how often promised good comes to naught and employing a very picturesque expression to illustrate his own disappointment he tells us that his dance has become an unruly scramble:

"Ma sempre de' servir ne la sua mente
 Di non laudar lo frutto per lo fiore
 Che vist' agia: chè pot' esser fallente
 Per freddo che sormenti o' per calore.
 Avegna ch'i ' non saccia perchè 'n fallo
 Mi sia tornato il fior ch'i' odorai.
 Conforto n'averia s'io lo sapesse.
 In greve tresca m'è tornato il ballo
 E contra 'l ben m'è data pena assai,
 Poi non mi son tenute le 'mpromesse."(2)

(1) p. 27.

(2) p. 34.

Another purely Provençal effect is obtained in this figure:

"Dunque sol siete quella,
In cui l'amor si vesta
E flore in fronda cresce,
Che bon frutto conserva."(1)

Guido Orlandi has a curious view of jealousy. He writes a sonnet upon the subject. A wise lover takes jealousy as a bitter fruit and even desires it, jealousy forms a knot which is not easy to loosen. But the poet does not explain whether he is speaking of a jealous lover or a jealous lady, does he mean that it is a wise thing to awaken jealousy in the lady, or does he mean that it is good for the lover to have his jealousy aroused? This would provide subject matter for a good tenzone, but none of Guido's contemporaries were apparently interested. Jealousy for them was still the attribute of the husband only.

"Lo saggio amante quando prende 'l pomo
Geloso l'assavora e lo disia.
.....
Di gelosia d'amore feci un nodo
Che dur' a scioglier t'è se non intendi
Lo meo sermone ornato, tondo e sodo."(2)

The gleam of humour which we have learned to regard as a feature of this later poetry, is provided at the expense of the "Bianchi." They are like crabs, says Guido, and accordingly tells us something of the habits of these creatures. The introduction of the lion is most diverting but not altogether politic, Guido changes his figure too suddenly - we are still thinking of crabs

(1) p. 38.

(2) p. 46.

when the lion pounces out on us, and of course the allusion in the last line is meaningless, the poet is referring to some current event:

"Color di cener fatti son li Bianchi
E vanno seguitando la natura
Delli animali che si noman granchi,
Che pur di notte prendon lor pastura.
De giorno stanno ascosi, non son franchi
E sempre della morte anno paura,
Dello leon per tema non gli abbranchi,
Che non perdano mai la forfattura." (1)

The following figure is one which has already occurred in a poem by Miglore da Firenze (cp. *Lirica Dottrinale* section, p. 408). The image is so original that it could hardly have appeared independently, the identity of the poem must be doubtful.

"Amor, s'i' parto 'l cor si parte e dole
E vol disamorar ed inamora.
Tant' o guardato lo raggio del sole
Che ciò ch'io guardo pardi sua natura." (2)

The savage man with whom we have now an acquaintance of some standing, still appears at intervals. Guido chooses the figure in his last sonnet, introducing the storm comparison within the first; he handles this rather difficult task with great skill:

(1) p. 47.

(2) p. 49.

"Poi ch'aggio udito dir de l'om selvaggio
 Che ride e mena gio' de lo turbato
 Tempo, dell' aire fredda; in su' coraggio
 Pensa che torni in diletto stato;
 Per la bona speranza lo dannagio
 Li pare aquisto di ben riservato;
 Sì come fosse il bel tempo di maggio
 Si trova d'allegrezza sormontato;
 Et eo similmente mi conforto
 Pensando spesso che lo mar tempesta
 E poi ritorna in gran tranquillitate.
 Mentre che dura son ridott' al porto:
 De la bona speranza ~~fo~~ mia festa
 E di freddura attendo bonitate."(1)

One of the most interesting parts of Guido Orlandi's work is constituted by certain correspondence sonnets. At one point he makes a very severe criticism on Guido Cavalcanti, his style is too subtle, he should have a thick bow-string, he should read Ovid:

"Per troppa sottiglianza il fil si rompe
 E'l grosso ferma l'arcone al tenèro,
 E se la sguarda non dirizza al vero
 In te forse t'aven' che che ripompe.

 Ovidi leggi: più di te ne vide."(2)

Guido Cavalcanti replies with that dignity and pride which are so characteristic of his writings, and Guido Orlandi receives a rebuke which he certainly deserved:

"E certe fiate aggate Ovidio letto
 E trar quadrelli e false rime usare,
 Non po' venire per la vostra mente,
 La dove insegna amor sottile e piano,
 Di sua maniera dire e di su' stato."(3)

(1) p. 50.

(2) p. 31.

(3) p. 32.

He takes it in the right spirit, telling Guido Cavalcanti how much he admires his poetry, and mentioning what seems to him its sole defect "faresti amore piangere in tuo stato." The opening lines of this reply sonnet are couched in rhetoric language, admirably suited to the matter concerned:

"Amico, i' saccia ben che sa' limare
 Con punta lata maglia di coretto,
 Di palo in frasca come uccel volare,
 Con grande ingegno gir per loco stretto." (1)

The "limare" describes that careful workmanship with which we associate Guido Cavalcanti, and the bird flitting from pale to bough is very expressive of the author of "In un boschetto." Guido Orlandi did not understand Guido Cavalcanti at times. On one occasion the latter sent him a sonnet which puzzled him not a little. It is instinct with that new mystic love which Guido was incapable of appreciating. He imagines his friend to be speaking of the Virgin Mary, but he is frankly at a loss - "If you are speaking of Mary," he says, "then you have written what is right and probable," but he does not give the second part of the condition, clearly it amounts to this "If you are not referring to Mary then I do not understand and I think your poem may be heretical." Both poems are beautiful though Guido Cavalcanti's is the finer piece of work, the other being merely a summary of parts of the liturgy, its concluding lines are

(1) p. 33.

charmingly naïve:

"Una figura de la Donna mia
S'adora, Guido, a San Michele in Orto,
Che di bella sembianza, onesta e pia,
De' peccatori è gran rifugio e porto.
E qual con devozion lei s'umilia,
L'infermi sana e' demon caccia via
Ed occhi orbati fa vedere scorto.
Sana in publico loco gran langori:
Con reverenza la gente la 'nehina:
Due luminara l'adornan di fori.
La voce va per lontane cammina;
Ma dicon ch'è idolatra i fra' Minori
Per invidia che non n'è lor vicina."(1)

Reply of Guido Orlandi.

"S'avessi detto, amico. di Maria,
Grazia plena e pia,
Rosa vermiglia se' piantata in orto,
Avresti scritta dritta simiglia.
E veritas e via,
Del Signor nostro fu magione, è porto
Della nostra salute quella Dia,
Che prese sua contia
E l'angelo le porse il suo conforto.
E certo son, chi ver lei s'umilia
E sua colpa grandia,
Che sano e salvo il fa, vivo di morto.
Ai, qual conforto ti darò? Che pleri
Con Del li tuo' fallori
E non l'altrui. Le tue parti dielina
E prendine dottrina
Dal publican che dolse i suoi dolori.
Li fra' Minori sanno la divina
Scrittura latina
E de la fede son difenditori
Li bon predicatori:
Lor predicanza è nostra medicina."(2)

Guido Orlandi has left a sonnet in answer to one sent by Dante to him. Unfortunately we do not know what the nature of the latter was, but it was evidently an exposition of the new mode

(1) p. 41.

(2) p. 43.

of poetry, of which Guido clearly did not approve for he says that Dante is drawing his bow too far and tells him to beware lest his ship strike a rock. But the middle section is rather puzzling as there Dante would seem to be receiving counsel that he has asked for. Guido appears to be saying "You are attempting a very heavy task but I shall help you over this difficult step."

"Poi che traesti in fino al ferro l'arco
 Ver lo stecchetto e non desti di sovra,
 Motto ne caso volentier ti parco:
 Voglio cangiare a te la rima e l'ovra.
 Di sì gran peso ti levasticarco
 Che ben bon abachisto no 'l t'inovra;
 E s'io t'insegno passar questo varco
 Sì che'l soverchio non vi ti discovra,
 Non povramente guadagnar ne voglio
 Anzi che prima più te ne riscriva.
 E dico a te che lasci star l'orgoglio
 E t'asomigli a l'occhio de l'uliva;
 E guardati di non ferire a scoglio,
 Co' la tua nave in salvo porto arriva." (1)

The figures are rather confused in this sonnet, if we had the companion poem they might be clearer. It is strange that Guido Orlandi should have remained outside the magic circle of the "stil nuovo" though on terms of intimate fellowship with two of its greatest exponents. He had wit enough to know that new elements were at work in literature and that he himself was being left by the tide. His sonnet to Guido Cavalcanti is proof positive of this: "Onde si move e donde nasce amore?" he asks. What is true of his work in a general way, is true of his rhetoric

(1) p. 40.

language - his figures of speech bear no trace of the new spirit.

Gianni Alfani is a poet whose identity it is impossible to fix. He may have been that Gianni di Forese degli Alfani who was "gonfaloniere" of justice in Florence in 1310. He has left only a few poems, of a delicate and refined nature whose general characteristic is well expressed by Bertoni in the words: "mestizia" and "nostalgia." We are now well within the realm of the "dolce stil nuovo."

Gianni Alfani opens his first poem thus:

"Suato una donna dov' io la scontrai;
 Che co' gli occhi im tolse
 Il cor, quando si volse
 Per salutarmi e non 'l mi rende mai.
 Io pur la miro la dov' io la vidi,
 E veggiomi con lei
 Il bel saluto che mi fece allora;
 Lo quale sbigottì sì gli occhi miei,
 Ch' egl' incerchiò di stridi
 L'anima mia, che li pingea di fora.
 Perchè sentivami venire umile
 Un spirto gentile
 Che le diceva: - Omai
 Guata costei, se nontu ti morrai. -
 Amor mi vien, colà dov' io la miro,
 Amantato di gioia
 Nellà raggi del lume ch' ella spande;
 E contami che pur conven ch'io moia
 Per forza d'un sospiro,"⁽¹⁾

This passage is typical of the new manner of poetry. The fair greeting with its attendant consequences, the appearance of amore, the suggestion of death, all belong to the "dolce stil nuovo" conventions. The objective treatment of mental process-

(1) Rivalta p. 54.

es is the most striking aspect of the rhetorical language, the curious role played by eyes and heart involves a very specialised kind of personification which, I believe, is peculiar to this school of poetry.

After a few lines the poem develops along another line:

"Tu sei stata oggi mai sette anni pura,
Danza mia nova e sola,
Cercando 'l mondo d'un che li vestisse."

This apparently is an address to the poem, it is in the form of a "ballata" so this explains the word dance. The idea of the poem seeking a garment is quite novel, and is kept up to the end. The custom of giving instructions to their own productions is one long-established among these early poets, but in the "dolce stil nuovo" it is developed and slightly transformed. The poem becomes a child "questa fanciulla," even a son or daughter. This form of personification is as subtle and original as that connected with the eyes and heart, very often it suggests the image of a little page boy bowing low before he runs on his errand. The present instance is continued by Alfani thus:

"Ed hai veduto quella, che m'imbola
La vita, star pur dura
E non pregare alcun che ti coprisse.
Pero ti conven gire a lei pietosa
E dirle:- I' son tua cosa,
Madonna, Tu, che sai,
Fa ch'i' sia ben vestita di tuo vai."

The last few lines leave us in some doubt as to whether the ballad is still speaking, or whether the poet has taken the words out of its mouth. It seems to me that the former is the case although the "questa fanciulla" is rather strange:

"Se tu mi vesti ben questa fanciulla,
Donna, usciro di culla
E sapro s'io serrerai
Alcuna roba vaia: sì l'avrai."(1)

The succeeding poem begins with instructions again, and contains a brief light figure:

"Ballatella dolente,
Va mostrando 'l mi' pianto
Che di dolor mi cuopre tutto quanto.
Tu te n' andrai inprima a quella gioia
Per cui Fiorenza luce ed è pregiata;
E quetamenta, che non le sia noia,
La priega che l'ascolti, o sconsolata."(2)

We find a good example of Gianni Alfani's melancholy tone in the following:

"Se quella donna ched i' tegno a mente
Atasse il su' servente,
I' sarei ribandito ora a Natale.
Ma i' son certo che no le ne cale.
Pero, parole nate di sospiri
Ch'escon dal pianto che mi fende il core,
Sappiate ben cantar de' miei martiri
La chiave, che vi serra ogni dolore,
A quelle donne ch'anno il cor gentile;
Si che parlando umile
Preghein colei per cui ciascuna vale
Che faccia tosto il mio pianto mortale.
S'ella fa lor questa grazia ch'io chieggiò,
Colui, che pel mi' peggio
Non lascia partir l'anima dal male,
Perderà quella prova dove ei sale."(3)

(1) p. 55.

(2) p. 58.

(3) p. 62.

Notice the key figure which has not occurred for some time and which was frequently in the Provençal lyric, we find in the same passage that appeal to other ladies for help which has become now a convention of love-poetry, it forms too, the opening of the next ballad:

"Donne, la donna mia à d'un disdegno
Sì ferito 'l meo core,
Che se voi non l'atate, e' se ne more."

The poet proceeds to tell us rather quaintly that this lady has slain one of his friends, for this reason he looked at her and now he will meet the same fate if she does not have pity on him. The closing lines of the poem are very intense; they contain three of the traditional love figures in a very contracted form:

"Questa mia bella donna che mi sdegna
Legò sì stretto il meo cor quando 'l prese,
Che non si sciolsè mai per altra insegna
Che vedesse d'amor: tanto s'accese
D'una fiamma del suo piacer, che tese
Lo su' arco ad amore,
Col qual ne pingè l'anima di fore."(1)

The eyes and heart passages are very much alike in all poets of this school. Gianni Alfani describes once more the effect of the lady's glance upon him with very little change of vocabulary from his first account:

"La prima volta ched io la guardai
Volsemi gli occhi suoi
Sì pien d'amor, che mi preser nel core

"L'anima isbigottita, sì che mai
 Non ragiono d'altrui,
 Come legger si può nel mio colore.
 O lasso. quanto essuto il mio dolore
 Poscia pien di sospiri
 Per li dolci desiri
 Che nel volger degli occhi voi tenete!"(1)

We turn at once, however, into a very interesting series of figures beginning with the comparison of light:

"Di costei si può dir ben che sia lume
 D'amor. Tanto risplende
 La sua bellezza ad entro d'ogni parte,
 Che la Danubia, ch'è così gran fiume,
 E'l monte che si fende
 Passai e in me non ei tanta parte
 Ch'i mi potesse difender che Marte
 Co' gli altri sei del cielo,
 Sotto lo costei velo
 Non mi tornasser come voi vedete."(2)

The allusions are intriguing. This is the first occasion on which we find the Danube mentioned which is interesting, why Gianni Alfani should choose it is not very clear, nor is his meaning very clear, unless he is telling us that though he crossed the Danube and the cleft mountain to escape from his lady's love he yet was unable to defend himself since Mars and the six other planets were spinning below her veil - "come voi vedete" he says with great confidence, but I confess that I do not understand this last reference.

The last poem of Gianni Alfani is a political sonnet addressed to Guido Cavalcanti. In the closing lines Gianni re-

(1) p. 60.

(2) Ibid.

fers to the quiver of arrows which Guido carried - he was a formidable enemy:

"Io le risposi che tu senza inganni
Portavi pien di ta' saette un sacco
Che gli trarresti di briga e d'affanno."(1)

Thus Gianni Alfani does not use figures of speech readily, the outstanding characteristic of his language is typical of the whole school, personification of thoughts and feelings, and personification of poems.

Dino Frescobaldi. Of this poet also little is known, he is believed to have died about the year 1320, and we know from his contemporary poets that he was "bello, piacevole e gran vagheggiatore." His style is vigorous and inclined to be obscure, for Dino Frescobaldi loved long and intricate pieces of argument. He expresses the sufferings of a poet's soul with greater effect than any other of his contemporaries, and is distinguished too by a certain boldness of imagination. He is frequently referred to as the poet of youth because his lady is always young, he himself tells us that he prefers a maiden to a married woman; once Verzellino sends him a sonnet with this problem: "woman and a maid both gaze on a youth, his heart is divided, he would give it to her who is most in love, what is Dino's opinion?" The latter replies as follows:

(1) p. 53.

"Al vostro dir che d'amor mi favella,
 Rispondut' ò perch'io ne sono preso.
 Dico che se 'l valletto è saggio e 'nteso,
 Lasci la donna e prenda la pulzella.
 Che s'ella è gaia giovanetta e bella,
 De' 'l core aver più caldamente acceso;
 E, se la donna l'ama e mira fiso,
 Esser può vaga, ma non sì com' ella.
 Per ciò che la pulcella, ch'è lo core
 Mosso ad amare, è fatta disiosa,
 Ch'altro non chiede che 'l disio d'amore.
 Non può esser così donna ch'è sposa.
 Questo mi mostra il dolce mio signore,
 Ch'andar mi fa con la mente pensosa." (1)

It is interesting to remember that in his life of Dante Boccaccio tells how the first seven cantos of the Inferno were taken to Dino Frescobaldi "in quelli tempi famosissimo dicitore per rima."

With Gianni Alfani and Dino Frescobaldi we find ourselves within the full power of the "dolce stil nuovo" spirit. It becomes apparent that the range of figures of speech is henceforward limited. The great wealth of imagery which passed from Provençal to Sicilian and lingered on in the doctrinal lyric, has ~~been~~ almost entirely lapsed. Rhetoric language is now mainly personification, of the two types already discussed, with occasional comparisons and brief allegories, beyond this the idea of light is the only outstanding poetic conceit.

Here is Dino's first sonnet:

"Quest'è la giovanetta ch'Amor guida,
 Ch'entra per li occhi a ciascun che la vede:
 Quest'è la donna piena di merzede
 In cui ogni vertù bella si fida.

(1) Rivalta p. 269.

"Vienle dimanzi Amor che par che rida,
 Mostrando 'l gran valor dov' ella siede;
 E quando giunge ov' umiltà la chiede,
 Par che per lei ogni vizio s'uccide.
 E quando a salutare Amor la 'nduce,
 Onestamente li occhi move alquanto,
 Che danno quel disio che ci favella.
 Sol dov'è nobiltà gira sua luce,
 Il su' contraro fuggendo altrettanto,
 Questa pietosa giovanetta bella." (1)

It is utterly conventional in tone, there is no feature in it which we have not already encountered unless it be the word "onestamente." The "dolce stil nuovo" poets have a liking for certain words. I mean apart from those intimately connected with their theory of love, we meet "vestita d'umiltà" constantly, now "onestamente" has come to join it and we shall find that the word "piove" becomes enormously popular. There is certainly an element of monotonous repetition in this new school of poetry.

Sonnet III. is a good illustration of Dino's power to depict grief; he does so, of course, by means of personification. Notice too how the idea of the dart of love underlies the whole poem, proof again of the fact that the old troubadour conventions of love still form the basis of lyric poetry:

"Per tanto pianger quanto li occhi fanno,
 Lasso! Faranno l'altra gente accorta
 Dell' aspra pena che lo mi' cor porta
 Delli rei colpi che fedito l'anno.
 Ch'e' mie' dolenti spiriti, che vanno
 Pietà caendo che per loro è morta,
 Fuor de la labbia sbigottita e smorta
 Partirsi vinti e ritornar non sanno.

(1) Rivalta p. 78.

Quest'è quel pianto che fa li occhi tristi,
 E la mia mente paurosa e vile
 Per la pietà che di sè stessa prende.
 O ispietata saetta e sottile,
 Che, per mezzo lo fianco e il cor m'apristi,
 Com' è ben morto chi 'l tu' colpo attende!"(1)

Sonnet IV. contains a new idea, that of the robber, but it is soon lost to view and the accustomed phraseology takes its place:

"No spero di trovar giammai pietate
 Negli occhi di costei, tant' è leggiadra.
 Questa si fece per mè sottil ladra,
 Che il cor mi tolse in sua giovane etate.
 Trasse Amor poi di sua nova biltate
 Fere saette in disdegnosa quadra." etc.(2)

In sonnet V. there is a variation. We begin with a ray of light, then the poet upbraids his lady for cruelty by telling of a she-wolf which now appears in his mind, it is rather a fanciful idea:

"Donna da gli occhi tuoi par che si mova
 Un lume che mi passa entro la mente;
 E, quando egli è con lei, par che sovente
 Si metta nel disio ched e' si trova.
 Di lui v'appare una figura nova
 Che si fa loba e trovasi possente,
 E signoria vi ten sì aspramente,
 Ch'ogni ferezza al cor par che vi piova.
 Pietà non v'è nè merzè nè calere,
 Perché si fa crudel com' ella puote
 E disdegnosa della vita mia.
 Li spiriti, che no'l posson soffrire,
 Ciascun si tien d'aver maggior virtute
 Qual può dinanz' a le' partirsi via."(3)

Sonnet VI. "Amor, se tu se' vago di costei"(4) adds nothing to

(1) Op. cit. p. 85.

(2) " " p. 86.

(3) " " p. 74.

(4) " " p. 75.

the stock of conventional ideas, but number VIII. contains figures both old and new. It is a charming piece of writing:

"Poscia ch'io veggio l'anima partita
 Di ciascheunadolorosa asprezza,
 Dirò come la mia nova vaghezza
 Mi tiene in dolce e in soave vita.
 Chè per lei m'è nella mente salita
 Una donna di gaia giovinezza,
 Che luce il lume de la sua bellezza
 Come stella diana o margherita.
 Questa mi par co' le sue man nel core,
 Un gentileto spirito soave
 Che piglia poi la signoria d'amore.
 Questo à d'ogni mi' spirito la chiave,
 Accompagnato di tanto valore,
 Che star non po con lei spirito grave." (1)

The muse of Dino Frescobaldi is indeed "un gentileto spirito soave." This sonnet is a jewel in a chaplet of golden sonnets. After the jerks and starts, the twists and contortions of the doctrinal style, this fluid, crystalline verse is a miracle. Notice how the poet transforms the habitual procedure by bringing in his lady's hands, it is the touch of a genius. Conventionality however marks sonnet XI. for its own - "Deh, giovanetta, de' begli occhi tui," (2) but sonnet XIII. reveals once more Dino Frescobaldi's power of sombre imagery. Notice the vigorous rush of the opening lines as the bow twangs and the arrow goes home:

"La foga di quell' arco, che s'aperse
 Per questa donna co' le man d'amore,
 Si chiuse poi, ond'io sento nel core
 Fitto un quadrel che morte lì scoperse.

(1) Op. cit. p. 79.

(2) " " p. 82.

"Per che di fuor la mia labbia coperse
 D'oscura qualità, sì che 'l dolore
 Si mostra ben quant'è, nel mi' colore,
 Che, quel giungendo, l'anima sofferse.
 Ne la presta percossa di costui
 Che fece allor che la mente tremare,
 La sconsolata fu d'angoscia involta.
 Come dirittamente vide trarre
 Quel che piangendo mi consuma, poi
 E' volle che pietà le fosse tolta."(1)

The last passage of this type occurs in the canzone "Poscia che dir convienmi ciò ch'io sento," it is rather divergent in character from the others and shows a terse and vigorous realism. The figure of the arrow of course remains, but a dramatic element is provided by the short line and the cry of the heart:

"Il consolar che fa la vostra vista
 (E che per mezzo 'l fianco m'apre e fende,
 E quivi tanto attende
 Che 'l cor conven che rimanga scoperto)
 Poi si dilunga, ch'è valore acquista.
 Gridando forte un suo dur' arco tende
 E la saetta prende,
 Tal, che d'ucciderm' e' cred' esser certo;
 Ed apre verso questo fianco aperto
 Dicendo: Fuggi - all' anima - che fai?
 Ch'è campar no'l potrai.-
 Ma ella attende il suo crudel fedire,
 E fascia 'l cor, nel punto che saetta,
 Di quel forte disire
 Mi non uccide colpo di saetta.
 Poi che nel cor la percossa m'è giunta,
 Ed io rimango così nella vita,
 Com' uom da cui partita
 Fosse ogn' altra vertu forte e sicura;
 Perché dinanzi a l'affilata punta,
 Credendo ch'allor sia la mia finita,
 Ciascuna s'è fuggita:
 Così facesse quella ch'ancor dura!"(2)

(1) Op. cit. p. 88.

(2) " " p. 67.

Twice Dino Frescobaldi uses the star figure but on both occasions the dart image appears in the end:

"Un' alta stella di nova bellezza
 Che del' sol l'ombra la sua luce,
 Nel ciel d'Amor di tanta virtù luce,
 Che m'innamora de la sua chiarezza.
 E poi si trova di tanta ferezza,
 Vedendo come nel cor mi traluce,
 Ch'à preso, con que' raggi ch'ella 'nduce,
 Nel fermamento la maggior altezza.
 E come donna questa nova stella
 Sembianti fa che 'l mi' viver le spiace
 E per disdegno cotanto è salita.
 Amor, che ne la mente mi favella,
 Del lume di costei saette face
 E segno fa de la mia poca vita." (1)

"Questa altissima stella che si vede
 Col su' bel lume, ma' non m'abbandona:
 Costei mi die' chi del su' ciel mi dona
 Quanto di grazia 'l mi' 'ntelletto chiede.
 E'l novo dardo che 'n quest' amar siede
 Porta dolcezza a chi di me ragiona." etc. (2)

Dino's freakish imagination supplies him with an idea of quite an original stamp. He imagines a forest in which are found the martyrs of love. there, he tells us, his mind became a hand-maiden and thence his lady draws forth sighs. As frequently occurs in these early poets, the plan once tested is adopted again for a matter of greater importance. The forest of the martyrs assumes the form of an allegory in the canzone "Voi che piangete ne lo stato amaro." Before discussing the latter, however, we shall give the sonnet:

(1) Op. cit. p. 77.

(2) " " p. 84.

"In quella parte, ove luce la stella
 Che del su' lume da novi martiri,
 Si trova la foresta de' martiri
 Di cui amor cotanto mi favella.
 Quivi conven che la mia luce miri,
 Quivi tral fuor di paura sospiri
 Questa spietata giovanetta bella." etc.(1)

The canzone expands the idea on broader lines, but in rather an inartistic manner. A curiously artificial impression is created by the fact that the poem itself speaks - referring to its author as "Egli" - "Io era dentro ancor nella sua mente" it says. Another strange turn is given to the narrative by the introduction of the martyred lovers in the form of lions. One of these chases the poet to a tower from ^{which} his lady descends to him, she declares that she must punish his "offence" and does so by turning her shining glance upon him, he is so dazzled that he does not discern the gaping wound in her heart, he wakes with a start for it has been a vision, but the wound is still in his heart. This allegory shows distinctly of course, the influence of the "Tesore" and the "Intelligenza," we quote a section of it:

"Ch'ell' è foresta ove conven ch'on vada
 A guida di leon fuor d'ogni strada.
 Io era dentro ancor nella sua mente,
 Quando primeramente
 Gli apparve un de' leon de la foresta,
 Il qual giugnendo niquitosamente,
 Quivi subitamente
 Gridando verso lui volse la testa.
 Nel cuor li mise allor si gran tempesta
 Quella spietata e paurosa fiera,
 Che di colà, dov' i' era

(1) Op. cit. p. 87.

"Partir lo fe' con doloroso pianto;
 E così il cacciò tanto,
 Ch'a una torre bella e alta e forte
 Il mise per paura de la morte.
 Poi che fu giunto, credendo campare,
 Cominciò a chiamare:
 Aiutami, Pietà, ch'io non sia morto.-
 Ma e' si vide tosto incontro fare
 Tre, che ciascuno atare
 Volevan quello che prima l'avea scorto.
 Per che ciascun fu di tenerlo acorto,
 Tanto che di lassù scese donzella
 Gaia giovane bella
 Dicendo: - Quel disio che ti conduce
 Mosse da la mia luce,
 Onde convien ch'iq vendichi l'offesa,
 Dove ti venne così folle intesa." etc.(1)

There is one bestiarial figure in Dino Frescobaldi, that of the phoenix:

"Per gir verso la spera, la finicie
 Si scalda sì, che poi accende fiamma
 In loco ov' ella infiamma,
 Sì, che natura vince vita allora.
 Così, per veder chi 'l meo pensier dice,
 Mi mena Amor verso sì fatta fiamma,
 Che 'l cor già se ne 'nfiamma,
 Tanto che morte lui prende e colora,
 Del suo frutto altero ch'innamora."(2)

Sometimes we come upon a little human touch amid this essentially abstract conception of woman - thus Dino Frescobaldi tells us of the shadow cast by his lady's beautiful dress, notice that he calls her "loba," but this attribute means little more than "cruel:"

"Che per sua guida venisti nel core,
 Allor ch'ogni valore
 Mi tolse l'ombra d'una bella roba
 Onde venne vestita quella loba."(3)

(1) Op. cit. pp. 70 - 71.

(2) " " p. 72.

(3) Benedetto p. 271.

Finally, there has come down to us from the pen of this early poet a poem addressed to death which is almost Leopardian in tone, the sombre note which recurs at intervals through his poems predominates at the last and the work of Dino Frescobaldi closes on a minor chord:

"Morte avversara, poi ch'io son contento
 Di tua venuta, vieni,
 E non m'aver perch'io ti prieghi a sdegno,
 Nè tanto a vil perch'io sia doloroso.
 Ben vedi che di piagner non allento
 E tu mi ci pur tieni
 Segnato del tuo nero e scuro segno,
 Pero che sai che 'l viver m'è noioso.
 Io son sicuro e fui già pauroso
 Di doverti veder, crudele, in faccia;
 Ed ora, se m' abbraccia
 Da tua parte il pensier, il bacio in bocca." etc.(1)

There are now three names before us which have become closely connected together, to form the shining crown of this new poetry - those are Lapo Gianni, Guido Cavalcanti and Dante. Lapo Gianni was a notary of Florence, of the family of Ricevuti, he died about the year 1328. As a poet, he is worthy of being placed with Guinizelli, Cavalcanti and Dante. Bertoni says of him: "Lapo Gianni non è così profondamente drammatico nella rappresentazione dei suoi sentimenti come il Cavalcanti; non è così luminoso ne' suoi fantasmi poetici come il Guinizelli; ma è il cantore della vita dello spirito, nei meandri del quale lancia un acuto sguardo indagatore per domandargli l'origine e la significazione e il valore dei fenomeni interiori. Lapo

(1) Benedetto p. 264.

Lapo Gianni, il Cavalcanti, e il Guinizelli sono i veri e propri amici spirituali di Dante, che non risparmiò ai due ultimi ammirazione e lode, e volle compagno il primo nella sua fantasia meravigliosa:

"Guido, vorrei che tu e Lapo ed io
Fossimo presi per incantamento,
E messi in un vascello ad ogni vento
Per mare andasse a voler vostro e mio." (1)

As we have already found to be the case, the majority of rhetorical figures arise out of the conventional love episode. Thus in ballata II. we find:

"Nel vostro viso angelico amoroso
Vid' i belli occhi e la luce brunetta,
Che 'nvece di saetta
Mise pe' miei lo spirito vezzoso." (2)

In ballata III. the arrow becomes a ray of light:

"Io fui sì tosto servente di voi,
Come d'un raggio gentil amoroso
Di vostri occhi mi venne uno splendore;" (3)

again we find

"Li occhi suoi lucenti come stella."
Allora bassai li mei
Per lo tuo raggio che mi giunse al core" etc. (4)

the arrow once more -

(1) Bertoni Studi med. II. p. 386.

(2) Riv. p. 111.

(3) " p. 96.

(4) " p. 112.

"Ballata, poi che ti compose Amore
 Ne la mia mente, ove fa residenza,
 Girai a quella che somma piagenza
 Mi saettò per li occhi dentr' al core." (1)

The two are combined in the following instance and the idea of death is introduced:

"S'Amor farà sentire
 Per li suo' raggi della sua dolcezza,
 Tempo mi dà conforto,
 Menomera il martire
 Che mi saetta la sua giovinezza;
 Ond' io son quasi morto,
 Che venuto a porto,
 Che chi mi scorge fiso
 Pote veder nel viso
 Ch'i' porto segno di grave pesanza." (2)

Lapo Gianni does not give the immediate development which arises out of the wound, except in one instance. He is widely different from Dino Frescobaldi in this respect:

"Dentr' al tuo cor si mosse un spiritello;
 Escì per li occhi e vennem' a ferire,
 Quando guardai lo tuo viso amoroso
 E fe' il cammin pe' miei sì fero e snello
 Che'l core e l'alma fece via fuggire,
 Dormendo l'uno e l'altro pauroso:
 E quando 'l senti giungner sì orgoglioso,
 E la presta percossa così forte,
 Temetter che la morte
 In quel punt' overasse 'l suo valore." (3)

There are a number of figures immediately connected with the birth of love. There is first the description of the lady:

(1) Op. cit. p. 108.
 (2) " " p. 102.
 (3) " " p. 98!

"I' non posso leggermente trare
 Il novo essempla ch'ella simiglia:
 Quest' angela, che par di ciel venuta,
 D'amor sorella mi sembr' al parlare
 Ed ogni su' atterello è meraviglia:
 Beata l'alma che questa saluta!
 In colei si può dir che sia piovuta
 Allegrezza, speranza e gioi' compita
 Ed ogni rama di virtù fiorita,
 La qual procede dal su' gran valore."(1)

here the old and the new meet -

"Questa rosa novella
 Che fa piacer sua gaia giovinezza,
 Mostra che gentilezza,
 Amor, sia nata per virtù di quella."(2)

In a liturgical reminiscence she is "la serena fonte di beltate"⁽³⁾
 and in the new parlance she is "Angioletta in sembianza."⁽⁴⁾

Then the nature of love is illustrated; by a distinctly
 Franciscan verse -

"Rispose 'l cor, ch'avea poco di vita,
 (Sol, pellegrino e senz' alcun conforto,
 Quasi tremando e non potea parlare)
 E disse: Oi, alma, aitami levare
 E rimenare al casser de la mente!"(5)

or in terms of the old classical legend:

"Amor, nova ed antica vanitate,
 Tu fosti sempre e se' 'gnudo com' ombra,
 Unqua vestir non puoi se non di guai!"(6)

.....
 "Amor mendico del più degno senso,
 Orbo nel mondo nato, eternalmente,
 Velate porti le fonti del viso:

(1) p. 104.
 (2) p. 112.
 (3) p. 108.
 (4) p. 102.
 (5) p. 34.
 (6) p. 126.

"De, quanto si ritrova ogn' uomo offenso,
 Cui corrompi in diletto carnalmente,
 Poi vero lume li spegni nel viso!
 Provo ben ciò, che la luce del viso
 M'avevi spenta teco dimorando,
 Senza ragion nutricando mia vita.
 E la memoria avea già sì 'nfalita,
 Che come 'n tenebre andava palpando,
 E quella donna, cui dato m'avea
 S'i' la scontrava non la conoscea.
 Amor. infante povero d'etate
 Per giovanezza sembri un bambolino
 A chi sovente rimira il tuo aspetto:"(1)

It is odd to find this dissertation upon pagan love in the mystic world of the "dolce stil nuovo." Lapo Gianni continues his discourse very systematically, having spoken of the blindness of love, he now turns to cupid's bow:

"Amor, infaretrato com' arciero,
 Non lena mai la foga del tu' arco,
 Però tutt' i tuo' colpi son mortali.
 De, com' ti piace star presto guerriero,
 E si' fatto scheran, che stai al varco
 Rubando i cori e saettando strali!"(2)

From this point the poem takes a very unexpected turn. The poet complains of his own painful wound, then tells us of his desire for vengeance, he cannot shoot arrows, but he will do as Cain did to Abel! After this somewhat alarming statement Lapo Gianni in a freakish whim looks at Cupid saying to him - "Since you are quite naked if you hadn't wings you would die of cold!" and this is the vein of humour coming to the surface again. Lapo's simile however must not be misinterpreted, his intent is

(1) p. 127.

(2) p. 128.

deadly and in the next few lines Cupid is slain!

"Provo 'l, che di colpire a me non cali,
 Ch'ài tanto al cor dolente saettato
 Ch'una saetta lo sportò dal segno,
 Principio naturato in questo regno
 Se' d'ogni reo. Di te non son vengiato;
 Ma ch'i' non so saettar quadrello
 Faro com' fece Caino ad Abello.
 Amor, poi che tu se' del tutto 'gnudo,
 Non fossi alato, morresti di freddo;
 Chè se' cieco e non vedi quel che fai.
 Mentre che 'n giovane essenza sarai
 L'arco e'l turcasso sarà tuo trastullo.
 Non vo' che m'abbi omai più per fanciullo;
 Come campion ti sfido a mazza e scudo."(1)

It is a curiously whimsical piece of writing, changing from grave to gay in a sudden and rather breathless fashion. I think that on the whole Lapo Gianni is not serious in this case, he is amusing himself at the expense of his hearers, and is intrigued by the notion of blind Cupid with his wings and quiver of arrows.

Finally the attendant conventions of love are not forgotten. We find the appeal to ladies for help:

"Donne e donzelle, ch'amate ragione,
 Or ecco donna di gran valentia,
 Che per sua cortesia
 Vuole su' servo sà guiderdonare."(2)

the fear of mockery

"Sì che per uso non curan tormento (i mie' sospiri)
 Se non di ciò tementi o paurosi,
 Donna, voi li gabbate sorridendo."(3)

(1) p. 128.

(2) p. 40.

(3) p. 122.

and the importance of death, for Lapo Gianni, like Dino Frescobaldi has written a canzone upon this subject. It contains several figures mostly of a liturgical type:

"O morte, fiume di lacrim' e pianto,
O nemica di canto,
Desidro che visibile ci vegne,
Perche sostegni sì crudel martire;"(1)

from a river of tears death becomes a cruel step-mother, a tree of evil etc.

"O morte, partimento d'amistate,
O senza pietate,
Di ben matrigna ed albergo del male,
Già non ti cale a cui spegni la vita.
Perche tu, fonte d'ogni crudeltate,
Madre di vanitate,
Sei fatta arciera e di noi fai segnale?
Di colpo micidial se' sì fornita."(2)

Peire d'Auvergne had long ago written of Death the archer -

".....qu'ieu sai que tart, si contra .l cor,
No.s cobri om ben del arquier
Que del colp senta la vigor,
Quar mont val garda de primier."(3)

Death becomes ugly, like a pirate ship,(?)root of all suffering:

"O morte oscura di laida sembianza,
O nave di turbanza,
Che ciò ch'è vita congiunge e notrica,
Nulla ti par fatica sceverare.
Perche radice d'ogni sconsolanza
Prendi tanta baldanza?"(4)

(1) p. 64.

(2) pp. 116 - 7.

(3) Zenker p. 129.

(4) Riv. p. 118.

The last image strikes an original note - death is more silent than a painting on a wall.

"Morte, tu vedi quanto e qual' io sono
Che con teo ragiono;
Ma tu mi fai più muta pariatura
Che non fa la pintura a la parete."(1)

On the whole this poem is spoiled by overstocking of rhetoric images. Dino's poem is more impressive.

The selection of miscellaneous figures is small and the greater part of these is of Provençal origin. We meet the stag figure:

"Sì come il cervo inver lo cacciadore
Così a voi servidore
Tornò che li degnasti perdonare."(2)

and again

"E, s'i' son come il cervo
Che quand' è istanco si mostra leggero,
- lasso! - di doglia pero;"(3)

The wheel of fortune appears also:

"Io laudo Amor, di me a voi, amanti,
Che m'ha sor tutti quanti meritato
'n su la rota locato veramente;
.....
Grazie, merzede a tal signor valente
Che m'ha sì alteramente sormontato
E sublimato 'n su quel giro tondo
Che'n esto mondo non mi credo pare."(4)

Rivers flowing to the sea -

- (1) Op. cit. p. 119.
(2) " " p. 96.
(3) " " p. 130 cp. also p. 105.
(4) " " p. 94.

"Che 'n voi ricorre tutta sua speranza
Come nel mare ogni corrente ploia."(1)

recall the Provençal lines:

"Qu'aisseis pardon vengut,
Cum mar rescon
Los noms dels flums,"(2)

The following lines are reminiscent of the Provençal siege figures:

"Sappiate, donna, che le mie fortezze
Non dureranno contr' a vostr' altezze;"(3)

The metaphor of a court occurs for the first time in this poetry:

"Qui riconosca amor vostra valenza;
Se torto fate, chiudavi le porte
E non vi lasci entrar nella sua corte,
Data sentenza in tribunal sedendo."(4)

it is Lapo the notary who speaks here.

The old idea of the snare comes again:

"Quando cred' esser mosso
Fero ne' lacci tuoi ch'ascosi tend;
Così mi giugni e prendi,
Poi tormentando più mi tien' distretto."

and the convention of service is not far to seek:

"Mi sembreria orgoglio
Non rimembrar che già fosse tuo servo,

(1) Op. cit. p. p. 105.

(2) Calanson, Jeanroy p. 53.

(3) Op. cit. p. 122.

(4) " " p. 123.

"Perchè francato servo villania
 Mai per ragion non dia
 Usar verso 'l signor; ma son qual soglio." (1)

In conclusion there are three passages which require independent treatment. One is a form of that mental personification which we now know well, it is important as being a conscious use of the device, and of course it is connected with the personification of poems:

"Donna, se 'l prego de la mente mia,
 Come bagnato di lacrim' e pianti,
 Venisse a voi incarnato davanti
 Aguisa d'una figura pietosa,
 E voi degnaste udir sua diceria,
 Ragion vi moverebbe nè sembianti," etc. (2)

Another is a very charming vision. The poet has been guided by the hand of love to his lady, as the three Kings were guided by the star to Bethlehem:

"Sì come i magi a guida della stella
 Girono inver le parti d'oriente
 Per adorar lo Segnor ch'era nato.
 Così mi guido Amore a veder quella
 Che'l giorno amanto prese novamente,
 Ond' ogni gentil cor fu salutato.
 I' dico ch'i' fu poco dimorato,
 Ch'Amor mi confortava: - Non temere!
 Guarda com' ella vene umile e piana!
 Quando mirai, un po' m'era lontana;
 Allora m'aforzai per non cadere
 E'l cor divenne morto ch'era vivo.
 Io vidi lo 'ntelletto suo giulivo (= gioioso)
 Quando mi porse il saluto riosivo." (3)

Notice the astonishing remark in the second last line.

(1) Op. cit. p. 130.

(2) " " p. 120.

(3) " " p. 114.

Finally we come to a poem which like Guido Orlandi's lily haven and Dante's magic boat, is an outlet for the poet's longing to escape the troubles and obstacles of daily life. He claims from Amore; his lady, the Arno, the walls of Florence adorned with silver and crystal, the world in peace and the road safe: then he imagines fair gardens filled with every delight:

"Amor, eo chero mia donna in domino;
 L'Arno, balsemo fino,
 Le mura di Firenze innarzentate,
 Le ruge di cristallo lastricate,
 Fortezze alte merlate,
 Mio fedel fosse ciaschedun latino;
 Il mondo in pace, sicuro 'l camino;
 (notrir nog + vicino)
 E l'aira temperata verno e state;
 (e) mille donne e donzelle adornate,
 Sempre d'Amor pregiate,
 Meco cantasser la sera e'l mattino.
 E giardin fruttuosoi di gran giro,
 Con gran uccellagione,
 Plen' di condotti d'acqua e cacciagione.
 Bel mi trovasse come fu Absalone.
 Sanson parèggiasse e Salomone.
 Servaggi de barone,
 Sonar viole, chitarre, e canzone,
 Poscia dover entrar nel ciel empiro.
 Giovane sana allegra e sicura
 Fosse mia vita fin che 'l mondo dura."(1)

It is true that the Moine de Montaudon imagined a paradise of this sort, but for long and many years these flights of fancy have ceased. The poets of the "dolce stil nuovo" have won their freedom from tradition and are testing their wings. Of Lapo Gianni's figures we can say nothing more fitting than what has already been said by Bertoni. His style is characterised by

(1) Op. cit. p. 133.

"una bella trasparenza cristallina"⁽¹⁾ egli sa trarre dalla sua lira una serie di gamme d'una gentile musicalità."

Guido Cavalcanti. The life of Guido Cavalcanti unlike that of the majority of these poets, is well known. A son of Cavalcante of Schiatta and wedded to Bicedi Farinata degli Uberti, he played an important part in the political life of Florence, his bitterest enemy being Corso Donati. Between 1292 and 1296 he went on a pilgrimage to San Jacopo of Compostella, but on the way there he stopped at Nîmes, and Toulouse, where he fell in love with "Mandetta." On his return to Florence, his imprudent behaviour caused his exile with other members of the Cerchian sect, Dante was among the Priors who proclaimed the decree. They were recalled from banishment shortly after, but the climate of ~~Sarzana~~ ^{Sarzana} was most unhealthy and Guido died soon after his return.

The position of the poet in the new school is expressed thus by Bertoni: "Il Cavalcanti, poeta spiritualmente più evoluto del Guinizelli, è considerato quale l'espositore delle dottrine del "dolce stil nuovo." E a ragione, perchè la sua celebre canzone: "Donna mi prega perchè voglio dire," è la vera depositoria delle nuove teorie su amore."⁽²⁾ While Volpi explains fully and clearly what his relation was to Guido Guinizelli: "L'arte del Cavalcanti procede da quella del Guinizelli.

(1) Bertoni 'Studi med. ' II. p. 385.

(2) Ibid. p. 375.

Ciò apparisce nell' indirizzo filosofico della poesia del secondo Guido, che derivò assai elementi dalla scienza, specialmente nella canzone sull' amore (Donna mi prega), dove si notano anche concetti propri del misticismo arabo, qui pervenuti probabilmente per il tramite di Alberto Magno; la qual canzone parve agli antichi mirabile cosa ed ebbe l'onore di più commenti,..... Anche Guido Guinizelli aveva scritto una canzone sulla natura d'amore, ma aveva infiorato l'arida materia con immagini tolte dai fenomeni fisici più noti e più belli. Il Cavalcanti ci mette innanzi tutto il suo apparato filosofico e distingue e definisce in una maniera rigidamente scolastica. (1) *

Ma più e meglio il fiorentino si mostra in relazione col bolognese in quei sonetti, dove per descrivere la bellezza della donna prende immagini della natura, cosa nella quale egli si distingue dagli altri compagni dello stil nuovo. Si senta questo, ch'è insieme dei migliori di quanti ne scrivesse, per forma limpida e scorevole.

Avete 'n vo' li fior e la verdura etc.

Specialmente i fenomeni luminosi a lui davano idea della bellezza della donna, che egli immagina quasi fosforescente. Altrove egli dice che essa fa tremare di chiarezza l'aria, e tra le cose belle, che secondo un' altro sonetto sono superate dalla bellezza della donna, v'è l' "aria serena quand' appar l'albore, e bianca neve che scende senza venti" e c'è l'oro e l'argento che

(1) Volpi 'Storia lett. d'It.' III.

* See also Herbert Read, 'The Nature of Metaphysical Poetry,' in the vol. 'Reason and Romanticism,' London, Faber & Gwyer, (1926.)

luccicano, senza contare il solito paragone della stella del mattino. Quanto poi alle lotte intime dell' anima innamorata, sono espresse volentieri da Guido con immagini di battaglia."⁽¹⁾ Zingarelli too, writes an appreciation of Guido Cavalcanti both as man and poet: "Guido pare che porti in sè il più bel fiore della nobiltà della famiglia. Filosofo e cavaliere, poeta e uomo di parte, tale ce lo descrivono gli storici e i novellatori, il Villani e il Boccaccio, tale appare dalle sue rime e da quelle dei contemporanei che corrisposero con lui. La vecchia poesia è trasformata in lui, perchè lasciando stare la disamina dei particolari, che si potrebbero addurre in gran numero, basti per tutto che per lui la poesia ridiventa la creazione personale, e s'impronta della qualità e degli affetti e dalla tempera propria dell' autore."⁽²⁾ S'intende come il sorgere di un tale uomo abbia dato un impulso affatto nuovo alla poesia del tempo suo: sorgeva in realtà una forma ed un pensiero nuovo, appariva uno spirito fino e delicato, profondo e sicuro di se, un ideale compiuto, un' altezza psicologica e intellettuale imponente..... Veramente con Guido Cavalcanti s'inizia un' arte nuova, uno stile nuovo, che Dante chiamò "dolce stil nuovo"⁽³⁾, e veramente egli tolse al Guinizelli "la gloria della lingua."⁽⁴⁾⁽⁵⁾

Before proceeding to study the rhetoric language of Guido Cavalcanti a word must be said about the canzone "Donna mi prega," for although this poem is not figurative it is as Renier says "la chiave per intender la metafisica amorosa dei poeti

(1) Volpi p. 12.

(2) Zingarelli 'Dante,' Storia lett. d'It. p. 60.

(3) Purg. XXIV. 59.

(4) Purg. XI. 97.

(5) Zingarelli. p. 62.

dello stil nuovo."⁽¹⁾ It was written in reply to the following sonnet by Guido Orlandi:

["Guido Orlandi in nome d'una donna a Guido Cavalcanti, domandandogli che cosa sia amore; ~~ai~~ Al qual sonetto Guido Cavalcanti rispose con la sua Canzone:- 'Donna mi prega per ch'io voglio dire.']
 Onde si move e donde nasce amore?
 Qual'è 'l su' proprio e dove dimora?
 È sustanzia o accidente o memora?
 È cagion d'occhi o voler di core?
 Da che procede suo stat' o furore?
 Come foco si sente che divora?
 Di che si nutrica domand' i' ancora?
 Come e quando e di cui si fa signore?
 Che cosa è dico? e' a e' figura?
 Ha per sè forma o somiglia altrui?
 È vita questo amore od è morte?
 Chi 'l serve de' saver di sua natura:
 Io domando voi, Guido, di lui;
 Odo che molto usate in sua corte."⁽²⁾

and a summary of the content is given by Zingarelli: "Egli comincia dall' affermare che la mente sia la sede dell' amore, che esso è creato da veduta forma che si ferma nell' intelletto possibile. Senonchè riconosce che è un sentimento non governato dalla ragione, per la qual cosa negli uomini viziosi produce male. Grande è la potenza di amore, al segno che può anche cagionar la morte senza l'aiuto della ragione; e la sua essenza consiste in una costante e senodata volontà. Da ciò segue che i suoi movimenti sono i più strani, e dispàrati, che genera malinconia e gioia, sospiri e pianti e insomma una grande instabilità. Il piacere in esso proviene dalla corrispondenza; nè altra apparenza o sostanza possiede."⁽³⁾

(1) Giornale Storico VI. p. 408.

(2) Rivalta p. 48.

(3) Zingarelli, op. cit. p. 61.

The concision and clarity of this résumé give little indication of the obscurity and complicated nature of the original. In Guido's day it was looked up to as a masterpiece; to-day, we find the philosophic treatment difficult to follow, with very little reward to offer us for our efforts to understand it. Its importance lies in its character as a manifesto of the new conception of love, in a sense it is the drawing-up of a creed. The exact literary value of this declaration is stated by Bertoni: "Intorno alla risoluzione di questi quesiti s'era già affaccendata la lirica dei trovatori e quella siciliana; ma mentre questa considerava amore e la donna come elementi necessari alla perfezione del cavaliere e cortigiano, la poesia del 'dolce stil nuovo' li considera come capaci di dare la perfezione allo spirito."⁽¹⁾

In the realm of figurative language Guido Cavalcanti must be regarded as the poet of "spirits" 'par excellence.' He is surrounded by hosts of what Renier calls 'little concrete personalities.' They lurk round his eyes, peep from the corners of his mouth, form a bodyguard before his heart and caper round his pen. One sonnet in particular is devoted to this usage:

"Pegli occhi fere un spirito sottile
 Che fa in la mente spirito destare
 Dal qual si move spirito d'amare
 E ogn' altro spiritello fa gentile.
 Sentir non po' di lu' spirito vile,
 Di cotanta virtù spirito appare!"⁽²⁾

(1) Bertoni op. cit. p. 375.

(2) Guido Cavalcanti, Ercole, p. 302.

"Quest'è lo spiritel, che fa tremare,
 Lo spiritel che fa la donna unile.
 E poi da questo spirito si move
 Un altro dolce spirito soave
 Che siegue un spiritello di mercede:
 Lo quale spiritel spiriti piove,
 Che di ciascuno spirito ha la chiave
 Per forza d'uno spirito che 'l vede."(1)

The examples of spirit personification are so numerous that they do not admit of full quotation. We shall give the most outstanding passages and merely refer to the others. The procedure is generally as follows, the arrow of love strikes the poet's heart and awakens the spirit of love which lies sleeping there, a struggle ensues and in the end the spirits are put to flight. Sometimes thoughts play the part of the spirits. The two following extracts are typical, both come from the canzone "Io non pensava che lo cor giammai."

"Non sentio pace ne riposo alquanto
 Poscia ch'amore e madonna trovai,
 Lo qual mi disse:- tu non camperai,
 Chè troppo è lo valor di costei forte. -
 La mia virtù si parti sconsolata,
 Poi che lassò lo core
 A la battaglia ove madonna e stata,
 La qual degli occhi suoi venne a ferire
 Di tal guisa ch'amore
 Ruppe tuot' i miei spiriti a fuggire."(2)

"Quando 'l pensier mi ven ch'i' voglia dire
 A gentil core de la sua vertute,
 I' trovo me di sì poca salute
 Ch'i' non ardisco di star nel pensiero.
 Amor, ch'à le bellezze sue vedute,
 Mi sbigottisce sì che sofferire

(1) Ercole p. 302.

(2) " p. 251.

"Non può lo cor, sentendola venire,
 Che sospirando dice:- io ti dispero:
 Pero che trasse del su' dolce riso
 Una saetta acuta
 Ch'ha passato 'l tu' core e 'l mio diviso.
 Tu sai, quando venisti, ch'io ti dissi:
 Poi che l'avei veduta,
 Per forza convenia che tu morissi."(1)

Guido Cavalcanti draws upon his imagination to a large extent in these spirit figures. He creates a new spirit for every phase of thought or passing mood; for example the idea of death is heralded for him by a fearful spirit:

"Veder poteste, quando vi scontrai,
 Quel pauroso spirito d'amore,
 Il qual sol apparir quand' om si more,
 E in altra guisa non si vede mai.
 Elli mi fu sì presso che pensai
 Ch'ell' uccidesse lo dolente core:
 Allor si mise nel morto colore
 L'anima mia dolente per trar guai.
 E po' sostenne, quando vide uscire
 Dagli occhi vostri un lume di merzede,
 Che porse dentr' al cor nova dolcezza.
 E quel sottile spirito che vede
 Soccorse gli altri che volien morire
 Gravati d'angosciosa debolezza."(2)

while at the end of the sonnet a spirit sent by his lady's sympathy restores his other wounded spirits to life. Perhaps the most ingenious invention of all is the "rosy spirit" which brings a blush to the face, thus -

"Certo non è da lo 'ntelleto accolto
 Quel che staman ti fece disonesto;
 Or com' è già che men che dico presto
 T'apparve rosso spirito nel volto?"(3)

(1) Ercole p. 256.

(2) " pp. 294 - 5.

(3) " p. 291.

Other instances of the usage are as follows:-

- p. 318 - his spirit aimed at by the archer love.
- p. 272 - Un amoroso sguardo spiritale: her glance places a spirit of joy in his heart.
- p. 275 - 6 the lady passes through his eyes into his heart, the "deboletti spiriti van via."
- p. 282 - his soul is dismayed by the battle against love, his mind is destroyed, "the spirits flee."
- p. 288 - a sigh of his heart says: "spiriti, fuggite," no pity-ing man is at hand to say: "spiritei, non vi partite."
- p. 371 - a light in his lady's eyes is full of spirits of love.
- p. 389 - a spirit of love coming from her eyes causes his soul to flee.

It is obvious from this list that Guido's poetry suffers from an excessive use of this specialised personification and that his poetry might well have become artificial and monotonous had he been a less talented writer. In addition he is almost equally prone to use the arrow device. It has occurred in the majority of the spirit examples given above, but occasionally it is treated independently. One day he sees love sharpening his darts, on another occasion he gives a dramatic portrayal of a fatal wound of love; so realistic is the picture that we are reminded of Guido Cavalcanti's soldier life, and of the part he played in many a fight:

"Questa virtù d'amor che m'ha disfacto
 Da vostr' occhi gentil presta si mosse;
 Un dardo mi gittò dentro dal fianco.
 Sì giunse ritto 'l colpo al primo tracto,
 Che l'anima tremando si riscosse,
 Veggendo morto 'l cor nel lato manco."(1)

Equally vivid is this little description of a parting thrust:

"Po' torna, piena di sospir, nel core,
 Ferita a morte d'un tagliente dardo
 Che questa donna nel partir li gitta."(2)

The most elaborate example is contained in the following sonnet, where love is imagined by Guido to possess three arrows, the image is original and is handled with quaint seriousness:

"O tu che porti nelli occhi sovente
 Amor, tenendo tre saette in mano,
 Questo mio spirito che vien di lontano
 Ti raccomanda l'anima dolente:
 La quale à già feruta nella mente
 Di due saette l'arciere soriano,
 A la terza apre l'arco, ma sì piano
 Che non m'aggiunge essendoti presente;
 Perchè saria dell' alma la salute,
 Che quasi giace in fra le membra morta
 Di due saette che fan due ferute.
 La prima dà piacere e disconforta,
 E la seconda disia la vertute
 De la gran gioia che la terza porta."(3)

Another sonnet is devoted to the arrows of love, Guido describing Amore in the guise of an archer as if the idea were wholly fresh and new, indeed it must have seemed so to him for he never wearies of adapting it to his various needs. As we said above, it is thanks to real poetic inspiration that he escapes monotony

(1) Ercole p. 276.

(2) " p. 366.

(3) " p. 307.

and artificiality.

"O donna mia, non vedestu colui
 Che sullo core mi teggia la mano,
 Quando ti rispondea fiochetto e piano
 Per la temenza delli colpi sui?
 El fu amore che, trovando nui,
 Meco restette, che venia lontano,
 A guisa d'un arcier presto siriano
 Acconcio sol per uccider altrui.
 E trasse poi de gli occhi tuoi sospiri,
 I qua' mi saettò nel cor sì forte
 Ch'i' mi partii sbigotito fuggendo.
 Allor mi parve di seguir la morte
 Accompagnata di quelli martiri,
 Che soglion consumare altru' piangendo."(1)

Guido is guilty of repetition also in the use of "piova"- "par
 che nel cor mi piova un dolce amor"(2) "par che nella mente pio-
 va una figura di donna"(3) "piove foco d'amore in nui"(4) etc.
 Evidently this expression too runs the risk of becoming thread-
 bare.

Our poet is indeed happiest in his nature figures as Vol-
 pi says(5). The first stanza of this sonnet is instinct with
 the beauty of flower and sunshine:

"Avete 'n vo' li fiori e la verdura
 E ciò che luce od è bello a vedere;
 Risplende più che sol vostra figura,
 Chi vo' non vede, ma' non po' valere."(6)

The same joyous note is heard in a sonnet of praise, where the
 poet thinks of all the fairest things he knows, only to tell us
 that his lady is fairer still. The swift succession of vivid

(1) Ercole p. 292.

(2) " p. 375.

(3) " p. 286.

(4) " p. 379.

(5) See above.

(6) Ercole p. 264.

pictures is remarkable, culminating as it does in the nature study of the second stanza:

"Beltà di donna di piagente core,
E cavalier armati molto genti,
Cantar d'augelli e ragionar d'amore,
Adorni legn' in mar forte correnti,

Aria serena quand' appar l'albire,
E bianca neve scender senza venti,
Rivera d'acqua e prato d'ogni fiore,
Oro, argento, azzurro 'n ornamenti,

Passa la gran beltate e la piagenza
De la mia donna e il suo gentil coraggio,
Sì, che rassembra vile a chi ciò guarda.
E tanto è più d'ogn' altra canoscenza
Quanto lo ciel di questa terra è maggio:
A simil di natura ben non tarda."(1)

This dainty ballad might have been penned by a Provençal troubadour were it not for the "angelica" in lines 18 - 19.

"Fresca rosa novella,
Piacente Primavera,
Per prata e per rivera
Gaiamente cantando.
Vostro fin pregio mando - a la verdura.
Lo vostro pregio fino
In gio' si rinnovelli
Da grandi e da zitelli
Per ciascuno cammino;
E cantinne gli augelli
Ciascuno in suo latino
Da sera e da matino
Su li verdi arbuscielli.
Tutto lo mondo canti
Poi che lo tempo vene,
Sì come si convene.
Vostr' altezza pregiata;
Che siete angelicata - criatura.
Angelica sembianza
In voi, donna, riposa;
Dio, quanto avventurosa

(1) Ercole p. 29.

"Fue la mia disianza!
 Vostra cera gioiosa,
 Poi che passa et avanza
 Natura e costumanza,
 Ben è mirabil cosa.
 Fra lor le donne dea
 Vi chiaman come siete:
 Tanto adorna parete
 Ch'eo non saccio contare;
 E chi poria pensare - oltr' a natura?

Oltr' a natura umana
 Vostra fina piagenza
 Fece Dio, per essenza
 Che voi foste sovrana:
 Perché vostra parvenza
 Ver me non sia lontana,
 Or no mi sia villana
 La dolce provedenza.
 E, se vi pare oltraggio
 Ch'ad amarvi sia dato,
 Non sia da voi blasmato:
 Che solo Amor mi sforza,
 Contro cui non val forza - nè misura."(1)

With it must be compared the pastorella "In un boschetto"(2)
 which trips along with the same light step, for here again Guido
 is undoubtedly indebted to the Provençal Muse.

A few miscellaneous quotations close the series. The
 poets of the "dolce stil nuovo" had a fondness for scriptural
 phraseology, Dante himself being noted for his reminiscences of
 prophets and psalm. Guido Cavalcanti adapts the line "Who is
 this that cometh from Edom?" to his own ends:

"Chi è questa che ven, ch'ogn' om la mira,
 E fa tremar di chiaritate l'a 're,
 E mena seco Amor, sì che parlare
 Omo non può, ma ciascun ne sospira?"(3)

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- (1) Ercole pp. 364 - 366.
 (2) " pp. 392 - 395.
 (3) " p. 266.

There is a curious line at the end of the sonnet "Perchè non furo a me gli occhi dispentì" which surely was suggested to Guido by the miracle of the "stigmata."

"La quale dice: chi gran pena sente
Guardi costui e vedrà lo su' core;
Chè morte 'l porta in man tagliato in croce." (1)

This is not the opinion of Ercole, however, who interprets the lines thus: "chi sente gran pena guardi costui e vedrà che morta ne porta in mano il cuore tagliato in croce."

Surely Guido's fancy carried him sorely astray when he wrote this stanza:

"Cosa m'aven quand'ì le son presente,
Ch'ì non la posso a lo 'ntelleto dire:
Veder mi par de la sua labbia uscire
Una sì bella donna, che la mente
Comprender nolla può, che 'nmantenente
Ne nasce un' altra di bellezza nova,
Da la qual par ch'una stella si mova,
E dica: la salute tua è apparita." (2)

It is not to be wondered at that Guido Orlandi told him to read Ovid, or that he was "admired rather than understood" by his contemporaries.

In a political sonnet addressed to Nerone Cavalcanti there are two slight animal comparisons and a reference to Pharoah. The latter is the only instance of its kind and is thus rather interesting:

(1) Ercole p. 278.

(2) " p. 371.

"Novelle ti so dire, odi, Nerone,
 Che' Bondelmonti trieman di paura,
 E tutt' i fiorentin nolli assicura
 Udendo dir che tu a' cor di leone.

E più treman di te che d'un dragone
 Veggendo la tua faccia, ch'è sì dura
 Che no la riterria ponte nè mura,
 Se non la tomba del re Faraone."(1)

The poems of Guido Cavalcanti are generally followed by a series of sonnets which are usually attributed to him and which are regarded as expressing in a very eloquent manner that spirit in poetry which we call the "dolce stil nuovo." Some of these sonnets are masterpieces. The calm dignity and resignation of this piece are unequalled:

"Amico mio, per Dio, prendi conforto
 In questa tenebrosa val mondana,
 Mentre che ci dimori, e vieni a porto
 In qual maniera far lo puoi più sana;
 Nè non ti lamentar già d'alcun torto
 Che ci ricevi, nè ti paia istrana
 Cosa ch'avenir veggi, ma accorto
 Dimora de la ria farti lontana.
 Chè questo mondo fue così chiamato
 Da la scrittura ch'e' santi trovaro,
 Che non ei vien neun, sì sia beato,
 Ch'assai lo stallo no li sembri amaro;
 Onde, se ci ti senti tu gravato,
 In pace il ti comporta, ch'i l'ho 'mparo."(2)

With this sonnet may be compared the one on faithful service in love.

"Ahi, buona fede a me forte nemica!
 Neente non mi val ch'i' voglia avere

(1) Ercole p. 350.

(2) Carabba p. 107.

"Tua compagnia, che tuttor a podere
 Mi struggi col penser che mi notrica,
 Sicchè rimaso son, quasi nemica,
 Essendo umile e con merzè cherere,
 In quella via che tu mi fai tenere,
 Fede, ispietata mia guerriera antica.
 Chè guerra posso ben la tua chiamare,
 Poi che m'offendi essendoti fedele
 Nè non mi lasci aver punto di bene:
 Chè l'uom di buona fe' ci vive in pene,
 E vedesi donar toscò per mèle,
 Nè più non ha da te che lo sperare."(1)

Here is a definition of love:

"Amore è un sollicito pensiero
 Continuato sov' alcun piacere,
 Che l'occhio ha rimirato volontero:
 Sicchè, imaginando quel vedere,
 Nasc' indi amor, ched' è signore altero
 Nel cor ch'ho detto ch'ha gentil volere."(2)

It is followed by an exposition of the eight commandments of love, which we must all know and observe.

It would be strange indeed if we did not find a sonnet on death - it is one of the finest in the collection:

"Morte gentil, rimedio de' cattivi,
 Mercè, mercè a man giunte ti chieggiò,
 Viennì a veder e prendimi, ch'è peggio
 Mi face Amor: ch'e' miei spiriti vivi
 Son consumati e spenti sì, che quivi
 Dov'io stava gioioso, ora mi veggio
 In parte lasso, là dov'io posseggio
 Pena e dolor con pianto; e vuol ch'arrivi
 Ancora più di mal, s'esser più puote;
 Perché tu, Morte, ora valer mi puoi,
 Di trarmi de le man di tal nimico.
 Ahimè lasso!, quante volte dico:
 Amor, perché fai mal pur sol a' tuoi
 Come quel de lo 'nferno che i' percuote?"(3)

(1) Carabba p. 111.

(2) " p. 117.

(3) " p. 138.

These poems are not figurative. Occasionally we light upon a short comparison, but this is rather the exceptional case. One sonnet however contains two parallels, we must understand that it is a sonnet upon the evils of waiting, and the images are those of a storm-tossed vessel and a man lost in a forest, feeling night near and conscious of wild things around him, either plight is preferable to that of the waiting lover - it is a marvel that he is not reduced to striking his head against a wall:

"Nessuna cosa tengo sia sì grave,
 In verità, nè di sì gran molesta,
 Come l'attender, che lo cor tempesta
 Più forte che nel mar turbato nave.
 E quanto al mi' parer, sì mal non have
 Chi ismarruto truovas' in foresta,
 Benchè veggia venir la notte presta
 E senta fiere cose onde tem' have.
 Chè chi attende, certo è maraviglia
 Come non si smarrisce nel pensiero,
 O come non percuote il capo al muro.
 Quei ch'è 'n mare o 'n foresta istà sicuro
 Di tosto esserne 'n capo, o campar sero,
 Ma que' ch' aspetta morendo sbadiglia." (1)

The series ends with the quaint reflection

"Che dolce canto puote altrui 'nnoiare
 Per troppo usare e venir ispiacente" (2)

so also, and with greater probability, may continued discussion of rhetoric figures.

(1) Carabba p. 142.

(2) " p. 164.

Cino da Pistoia was born about the year 1270, he studied at the University of Bologna and in 1307 was made assessore of the Porta Guidi in Pistoia. He was favoured by many great feudal lords of his time and became the assessor of Lodovico of Savoy who came to Italy in the train of Arrigo VII. When the latter died in 1313 Cino went to Naples. In 1317 he returned to Pistoia, from where he went to Siena, teaching law there till 1324. From the year 1324 to 1326 he was in Florence. In 1330 he was appointed to a post in Perugia but abandoned this to go to Naples at the request of King Robert. He had a hostile reception in Naples and in 1332 returned to Pistoia. In 1336 he was appointed "consigliere del popolo." Undoubtedly he was a man of position and influence who was greatly respected by his contemporaries. As a poet Cino's literary value is somewhat disputed, he is regarded by certain critics (e.g. Gaspari and V. Rossi) as being obscure and precious in style, while Bertoni regards him as superior to Cavalcanti. "Cino da Pistoia è per me poeta superiore al Cavalcanti, in quanto psicologicamente parlando è più evoluto e più profondo. Non ne ha l'immaginazione ma possiede maggior forza di pensiero."⁽¹⁾ - which seems an exaggeration. His historical position is explained thus by Carducci: "Segna il passaggio dall' ontologismo, per così dire, sublimemente lirico del Cavalcanti e dell' Alighieri al psicologismo squisitamente elegiaco del Petrarca. Ciò non ostante,

(1) Bertoni 'Studi Med.' II. p. 378.

messer Cino come poeta vuolsi direttamente allogare fra il Cavalcanti e l'Alighieri, benchè un poco più sotto."⁽¹⁾ Probably Cino da Pistoia has always suffered from the circumstance which places him a little later than Dante. He is eclipsed by his friend's great genius. That is why in the present instance we take the liberty of placing him along with Guido Cavalcanti and before Dante. His place is with the little band of "dolce stil nuovo" poets, his work is not good enough to stand in an isolated position.

The general effect produced by his poems is that of inequality. He has left a great many compositions and a number of these have been written in haste and are of little value; Cino's inspiration was not in proportion to his output and he is guilty of much wearisome repetition.

His rhetoric language is strictly confined within a certain area, it consists largely of the two specialised types of personification and of the usual conventions of love. Volpi says of him in this connection - "Cino porta alle ultime conseguenze quel male che era innato nello stil nuovo. Quella smania di sofisticare, di distinguere, di personificare in lui arriva all' ultimo punto e.g. 'L'alta speranza!'"⁽²⁾ And within this circle of traditional conceits Cino da Pistoia makes a special study of the "eyes." What the spirits were to Guido Cavalcanti, the eyes are to him. So much so that Bertoni calls

(1) Rime di Cino da Pistoia, Firenze. 1862.

(2) Volpi, Storia lett. d'Italia, p. 20.

him the poet of the eyes: "Cino da Pistoia potrebbe veramente dirsi il poeta degli occhi, tanta ricchezza d'immagini egli possiede, tanta vigoria d'espressione egli dispiega, quando parla degli occhi dell' amata:"(1) Very often they are worked into figures of rare beauty, but equally often they are the occasion of threadbare and conventional phrases, the amount of repetition is extraordinary.

In sonnet XVIII. we find the poet's eyes engendering a thought:

"Una gentil, piacevol giovanella
Adorna ven d'angelica vertute,
In compagnia di sì dolce salute,
Che qual là sente, poi d'amor favella.
Ella m'apparve a li occhi tanto bella,
Che, per entro un pensiero, al cor venute
Son parolette che, dal cor vedute,
An la virtù d'esta gioia novella,
La quale ha presa sì la mente nostra
E ricoverta di sì dolce amore,
Ch'ella non pò pensar se non di lei.
Vedi com'è soave il su' valore,
Che a li occhi nostri apertamente mostra
Come tu dei aver gran gioi' da lei."(2)

In the following ballad we find the poet's eyes dazzled by the light emanating from madonna, a thought again is engendered and on this occasion the spirits are put to flight:

"Amo colei ch'è di beltà lumera;
Che già non oso sguardar la sua cera
De la qual esce un ardente splendore
Che tolle a li occhi miei tutto 'l valore.
Quando 'l penser divien tanto possente.

(1) Bertoni op. cit. p. 378.

(2) Zaccagnini, p. 51.

"Che mi comincia sua vertute a dire,
 Sento il su' nome chiamar ne la mente
 Che face li miei spiriti fuggire.
 Non anno li miei spirti tanto ardire,
 Che faccin motto venendo di fore,
 Per soverchianza di molto dolore."(1)

The same point of view persists here - Amor strikes the poet's heart with his arrow, the latter cries out to the eyes in protest:

"Allor m'aggiunge Amor con un suo dardo
 E con tanta dolcezza
 Mi fere 'l cor che non si può tenere
 Che del colpo non cride,
 E dice: 'O occhi, pel vostro mirare
 Mi veggio tormentare
 Tanto, ch'io sento l'ultimo sospiro."(2)

The full ritual of love is set out in another sonnet, the lady passes through her lover's eyes into his heart, she tries to drive out his soul, but when the crucial moment comes love keeps it back with difficulty. The personification of the soul is a marvel of pathos:

"La bella donna che'n virtù d'Amore
 Per li occhi mi passò dentro la mente,
 Irata e disdegnosa spessamente
 Si volge ne la parte ov'è lo core,
 E dice: 'S'io non vo di quinci fore,
 Tu ne morrai, s'i' posso, tostamente.'
 E quei si stringe paventosamente,
 Che ben conosce quant'è 'l suo valore,
 E l'anima che 'ntende este parole,
 Si leva trista per partirsi allora
 Dinanzi a lei che tanto orgoglio mena;
 Ma vienle incontra Amor che se ne dole,
 Dicendo: 'Tu non te n'andrai ancora;
 E tanto fa che la ritiene a pena."(3)

(1) Zaccagnini p. 54.

(2) " p. 69.

(3) " p. 159.

The sonnet "Una donna mi passa per la mente" shows a subtle difference. The lady passes through the poet's mind in this instance and rests with his heart, but she does not stay, she leaves a spirit of love in her place. Now, the eyes play their part, the soul filled with grief appears in them to excite pity:

"Una donna mi passa per la mente
Ch'a riposar sen va dentro nel core,
E truova lui di sì poco valore,
Che de la sua virtù non è possente;
Sì che si parte disdegnosamente
E lasciavi uno spirito d'amore
Ch'empie l'anima mia sì di dolore,
Che vene agli occhi in figura dolente
Per dimostrare a lei che canoscente
Si faccia poscia de li miei martiri;"(1)

With this may be compared number CXVIII.(2) and number CL.(3)

The lady's eyes play their part too, as in the following lines:

"Da quel lucente raggio ch'è batteo
Da' be' vostr' occhi a' miei,
L'anima mia di subito ferita
Si partiva dal cor che mi cadeo,
Cui non rimase aita,
Nè lena tanta che dicesse: 'Omei!'," (4)

they shed a brilliant light upon the poet. Slight figures of the same type occur on p. 33, p. 68 and p. 143 etc., while a note of originality creeps in on p. 129. The eyes are described now as two thieves:

"Lo era tutto for di stato amaro,
Diletto frate, e ritornato in bono
Entro 'n quel tempo che'l cor mi furaro

(1) Zaccagnini p. 169.

(2) " p. 172.

(3) " p. 205.

(4) " p. 114.

"Due ladri che'n figura nova sono,
 Ed in tal punto allotta mi destaro,
 Ch'i' non posso trovar riposo alcono,
 E s'io non aggio di merzè riparo,
 Potrammi far di sè Morte gran dono."(1)

which reminds us that Cino was a man of law. As Volpi says:
 "Cino si sente che l'autore era un uomo che viveva in mezzo ai tribunali. Si trova l'amore rappresentato in atto di 'tener corte' e non manca neanche la tortura, che egli 'Fa tormentar gli spiriti affannando'."(2) Se non che in corte di questo signore 'non si tiene ragione' di tutti i furti; e il poeta non può riavere il cuore, rubatogli da 'Dua ladri che in figura nuova sono' cioè, si capisce, gli occhi della donna(3). Un' altra volta invece d'Amore, siede l'alta Imperatrice, la Ragione, e Amore piatisce contro il poeta.(4)(5)

Curiously enough the last eye figure shows us these versatile little beings in a state of great weariness, it is not to be wondered at and the coincidence is rather diverting:

"O lasso me sovra ciascun doglioso!
 Se li occhi miei non cadessero stanchi,
 Mai non avrei di lagrimar riposo,"(6)

but we must not permit ourselves to smile because Cino's eyes are now dim with tears and the light of his lady's presence is no longer there to gladden them.

The poet's grief was very real -

(1) Zaccagnini p. 129.

(2) Son. CXIII.

(3) Son. CXXVIII.

(4) Son. LXXIV.

(5) Volpi op. cit. pp. 18 - 19.

(6) Zaccagnini p. 203.

"Io fui 'n su l'alto e'n sul beato monte,
 Ove adorai baciando il santo sasso,
 Ed in su quella pietra caddi lasso,
 Ove l'onesta pose la sua fronte,
 E ch'ella chiuse d'ogni virtù 'l fonte
 Quel giorno che di morte acerbo passo
 Fece la donna de lo mio cor, lasso!
 Già piena tutta d'adornezze conte.
 Quivi chiamai a questa guisa Amore:
 'Dolce mio Iddio, fa' che qui mi tragga
 La morte a sè, che qui giace 'l mio core.'
 Ma poi che non m'intese 'l mio Signore,
 Mi dipartii, pur chiamando Selvaggia;
 L'alpe passai con voce di dolore."(1)

although it was mixed for him with a certain sweetness, he clings to it, he is remarkable for the voluptuousness of his mourning:

"La volutta del dolore ha qualche cosa di mistico che ci rammenta i santi e gli anacoreti, e così si trovano in Cino, come già in Dante, frasi e motivi tolti dalla letteratura religiosa."(2)

Thus we find a suggestion of the "De Profundis" in these lines:

"De l'oscuro profondo
 D'este miè pene chiamo
 Misericordia, Sire,
 Che 'ssai dire - posso, ma non fare."(3)

a reminiscence of the prophets in the voice from the wilderness:

"O voi che siete voce nel deserto
 Che chiama e grida sovra ciascun core,"(4)

the voice from the burning bush perhaps suggested the following idea:

"Ch'Amor visibil veder mi paria
 Che mi prendeva e mi menava in loco

(1) Zaccagnini p. 243.
 (2) Volpi, op. cit. p. 19.
 (3) Zaccagnini p. 40.
 (4) " p. 44.

"Dov' era la gentil mia donna sola,
 E 'nanzi a me pareva che gisse un foco
 Del qual pareva ch'uscisse una parola
 Che mi dicea: 'Merze, merzede un poco,'
 Chi ciò mi spon, con ale d'Amor vola."(1)

while this passage might have come from the lips of a Hebrew psalmist:

"Quando potrò io dir: 'Dolce mio Dio,
 Per la tua gran vertute
 Or m'a' tu posto d'onne guerra in pace,
 Però che li occhi miei, com 'i' disio,
 Veggion quella salute
 Che dopo affanno riposar mi face?
 Quando potrò io dir: 'Signor verace,
 Or m'a' tu tratto d'onne oscuritate:
 Or liberato son d'onne martiro,
 Pero ch'io veggio e miro
 Quella ch'è dea d'onne gran beltate,
 Che m'empie tutto di soavitate?'"(2)

though lines 4 - 5 are like a clause from the "Nunc dimittis."

The spirits have a part to play in the lyric of Cino da Pustoia, but it is not so important as the role of the eyes, sometimes too the function of the spirits is discharged by thoughts and sighs. Short figures such as this are frequently to be met with:

"Ogni spirito plora
 De l' alma ch'è 'n periglio!"(3)

compare p. 66, p. 228 etc., but fuller examples occur from time to time. Thus Cino describes his lady walking down to greet

(1) Zaccagnini p. 100.

(2) " p. 149.

(3) " p. 39.

him accompanied by love, brightening heaven and earth with her beauty filling the world with "spirits" of love and causing the wicked to flee before her face. A sonnet such as this makes us indulgent towards the weakness of repetition, if all the conventional poems were as fair as this there could be no question of monotony:

"Tutto mi salva 'l dolce salutare
 Che ven da quella ch'è somma salute,
 In cui le grazie son tutte compiute;
 Con lei va Amor che con lei nato pare.
 E fa rinovellar la terra e l'are
 E rallegrar lo ciel la sua vertute:
 Giammai non fuor tai novità vedute,
 Quali ci face Dio per lei mostrare.
 Quando va fuor per via, par che 'l mondo
 Sia tutto pien di spiriti d'amore,
 Sì ch'ogni gentil cor deven giocondo.
 E lo villan dimanda: 'Ov'io m'ascondo?
 Per tema di morir vol fuggir fore;
 Ch'abbassi li occhi l'omo allor rispondo."(1)

But unfortunately inspiration is not always present and the sonnet "Amore è uno spirito ch'ancide"⁽²⁾ is very mechanical.

Sometimes there is a dramatic call to the spirits to flee as occurs in Guido Cavalcanti:

"Svegliasi Amor con la voce che grida:
 'Fuggite, spiritelli, ecco' colei
 Per cui martir' le vostre membra avranno'."(3)

Cino thinks of them as being little winged creatures, at one point he says:

"E sempre ne dimora in tal tremore,
 Che batter l'ali nessun spirit'osa."(4)

(1) Zaccagnini p. 77.

(2) " p. 85.

(3) " p. 164.

(4) " p. 235.

"Dinanzi a la saetta sua s'assise
 E ratto, del piacer che lo divide,
 Sì che per segno li stava di fore,
 La temperò sì forte quel signore,
 Che, dritto quivi traendo, l'uccise."(1)

The idea is original and rather pleasing - love sits in front of his arrow savouring the pleasure it will soon procure for him. And at one point love sends a perfect hail of darts upon his victim:

"Assaliscemi forte Amor pungendo
 In ogni parte 'l cor, sì che gridare
 Mi fa: 'Merce, merce!', spesso piangendo."(2)

The new divine conception of madonna brings a heavenly light into the poetry of Cino da Pistoia, and relieves much that is artificial in the latter. She is not an earthly creature, God has sent her from heaven:

"Questa non è terrena creatura,
 Dio la mando dal ciel, tant'è novella."(3)

She is like an angel straight from the sky:

"Sapendo ch'in figura
 Angel del ciel diritto assimigliate"(4)

The poet becomes blessed as he looks at her; for just as an angel is blessed by gazing on the face of God, so is every human creature blessed by the sight of this lady:

(1) Zaccagnini p. 124.

(2) " p. 226.

(3) " p. 56.

(4) " p. 59.

but on the whole they do not serve him so well as they served Guido Cavalcanti. To Cino they are but hirelings, to Guido they are tireless liegemen.

As we said above, the place of the spirits is sometimes taken by sighs and thoughts, as for instance in the following lines:

"Chè, quando Amor mi si mise nel core,
E' mi si puose davanti a la mente
Con que' pensier che poi vi dormir poco,
Ma sovente rinforzano lo foco,
Parlando del dolor, del qual son nati,
Con quelli sconsolati
Sospiri che per lor grande abbondanza
Vincon la mia possanza,
Venendo con tremor tosto di fore,
Quando mi fa membrar madonna Amore." (1)

On another occasion sighs assail the soul and drive it away:

"Eo moro in verità, ch'Amor m'ancide,
Che m'assalisce con tanti sospiri,
Che l'anima ne va di for fuggendo,
E, s'eo la 'ntendo ben, dice che vide
Una donna apparire a' miei desiri,
Tanto sdegnosa che ne va piangendo." (2)

once the sighs cry out with grievous voice. (3)

The dart figure is very often an integral part of the love ritual, but sometimes it occurs without the customary appanages. As for example:

"Lo core meo che ne li occhi si mise,
Quando sguardava in voi molto valore,
Fu tanto folle, che, veggendo Amore,

(1) Zaccagnini p. 163.

(2) " p. 171.

(3) " p. 240.

"Poi che saziar non posso li occhi miei
 Di guardare a madonna il suo bel viso,
 Mirerol tanto fiso.
 Ch'io diverrò beato lei guardando.
 A guisa d'angel che di sua natura,
 Stando suso in altura
 Deven beato sol vedendo Dio,
 Così, essendo umana creatura,
 Mirando la figura
 Di quella donna che tene il cor mio,
 Poria beato divenir qui io:
 Tant'è la sua vertu che spande e porge,
 Avegna non la scorge
 Se non chi lei onora desiando." (1)

Sometimes the old spirit and the new meet, the "angelica figura" becomes the rose "che fa disparere ciascuno fiore." (2) The idea of religious martyrdom in the poet's sufferings becomes mingled with the agitation, the fever and chill of the old troubadours:

"Tu solo, Amor, m'a' messo in tale stato
 E di me fatt' ai fonte di martiri,
 Di malenanze e di tristizia loco.
 E faimi dimorare in ghiaccio e'n foco,
 E di pianto e d'angoscia e di sospiri
 Pasci'l meo cor dolente, disperato." (3)

In the same way the "deità d'amore" (4) becomes the "dio d'amor" (5) without any premeditation on the part of the writer.

Cino makes a peculiarly varied use of Personification.

"Moviti, Pietate," he cries, "e va' incarnata" (6) again he imagines his lady with Pity and love as companions:

"Deh, com' sarebbe dolce compagnia,

(1) Zaccagnini pp. 60 - 61.

(2) " p. 74.

(3) " p. 135.

(4) " p. 57.

(5) " p. 60.

(6) " p. 42.

"Se questa donna ed Amore e Pietate
Fossero insieme 'n perfetta amistate,"(1)

Pity, he says, has come into his eyes, on a different occasion. A fanciful whim describes his happy thoughts as coming and going like pilgrims, and speaking German or Greek - he cannot understand them, for to him happiness is unknown - "non so che si sia"⁽²⁾

"Ogni allegro penser ch'alberga meco,
Sì come pellegrin giunge e va via,
E se ragiona de la vita mia,
Intendol si com' fa il Tedesco 'l Greco."(2)

later, he refers to his soul going as a pilgrim⁽³⁾ - the idea of course, was familiar in the old troubadour lyric. The Personification of mental processes incidentally occurs in all the conventional love rituals, a fine example of its use appears in the following sonnet:

"Io sento pianger l'anima nel core
Sì che fa pianger li occhi li soi guai,
E dice: 'Oh lassa me, ch'io non pensai
Che questa fosse di tanto valore!
Che per lei veggio la faccia d'Amore
Vie più crudele ch'io non vidi mai,
E quasi irato mi dice: 'Che fai
Dentro a questa persona che si more?'(4)

Finally the poet introduces another wholly original note. He tells us that in the struggle which takes place between his heart and his lady, a valiant knight comes to the aid of the former. In the end he is discomfited. Clearly the knight re-

(1) Zaccagnini p. 127.
(2) " p. 180.
(3) " p. 212.
(4) " p. 186.

presents a serious rival of Selvaggia's.

"A la battaglia, ove madonna abbatte
Di mia virtù quanta ne trova intorno,
Appare un cavalier sì bene adorno,
Che l'anima, veggendol, sen dibatte;
Ma per la forza di lei che combatte
E vince tutto, non vi fa soggiorno;
Anzi sen va sì bel, che di ritorno
Lo reca qual pensiero in lui s'imbatte."(1)

Like all poets of the "dolce stil nuovo" Cino da Pistoia makes a liberal use of light figures. When his lady appears he thinks he sees the sun rising:

"Ancor m'è fatto Amor più ricco dono,
Ch'a tal donna m'è dato in potestate,
Che vede 'l sole la dov' ella appare
Cosa che 'l vince di sua chiaritate:"(2)

She even causes the latter to marvel:

"Tant'è la sua vertute e la valenza,
Ched ella fa maravigliar lo sole
E per gradire a Dio 'n ciò ch'ei vole,
A lei s'inchina e falle riverenza.
.....
Tutto ciò ch'è gentil, se n'innamora,
L'aer ne sta gaudente,
E'l ciel piove dolcezza u'la dimora."(3)

he bows down to her. When she departs the poet feels as if the sun had set and all were shadow, his soul travails within him:

"Quando pur veggio che si volta il sole
Ed apparisce l'ombra

(1) Zaccagnini p. 236.

(2) " p. 78.

(3) " p. 81.

"Per cui non spero più la dolce vista,
 Nè ricevuto à l'alma, come suole,
 Quel raggio che la sgombra
 D'ogni martiro che lontano acquista,
 Tanto forte s'attrista e si travaglia
 La mente, ove si chiude lo disio,
 Che'l dolente cor mio
 Piangendo à di sospiri una battaglia
 Che comincia la sera
 E dura insino alla seconda spera."(1)

He explains to us how she resembles the sun and tells us how she lightens the hearts of the "noble" as the sun dispels the darkness day by day:

"La bella stella che 'l tempo misura,
 Sembra la donna che m'a innamorato,
 Posta nel ciel d'Amore,
 E come quella fa di sua figura
 A giorno a giorno 'l mondo illuminato,
 Così fa questa 'l core
 De li gentili e di que' ch'an valore,
 Col lume che nel viso li dimora,
 E ciaschedun l'onora,
 Pero che vede 'n lei perfetta luce,
 Per la qual ne la mente si conduce
 Piena vertute a chi se n' innamora,
 E questa è che colora
 Quel ciel d'un lume ch'a li buoni è duce
 Con lo splendor che sua bellezza adduce."(2)

It is not the "sole folgorante" of Richard de Barbézieux nor the unearthly radiance of Guido Guinizelli, but a quieter and more genial glow. Briefer references are not far to seek.(3)

There are a fair number of Provençal figures in the poems of Cino da Pistoia, he has retained the idea of the bonds of love: his heart is "legato e preso"(4), his soul "stretta ne le

(1) Zaccagnini pp. 137 - 8.

(2) " pp. 217 - 8.

(3) e.g. p. 183, p. 84.

(4) p. 37.

man d'Amore/ e legata.....nel morto core"(1).

"Omè, ch'io sono all' amoroso nodo
 Legato con due belle trecce bionde
 E strettamente ritenuto, a modo
 D'uccel ch'è preso al vischio fra le fronde;
 Onde mi veggio morto, s'io non odo
 L'umile voce che a pietà risponde,
 Che, come più battendo istringe il nodo,
 Così credo ch'Amor più mi confonde.
 Confondemi, crescendo tutte volte,
 Sì come crescon nell' aureo colore
 Le belle trecce ch'al cor tengo avvolte.
 Aiutami, Pietà, che n'hai valore,
 Che, senza l'altre gran bellezze molte,
 Solo coi be' capei m'ancide Amore."(2)

The golden tresses of Selvaggia transform the old conceit.

He also keeps the convention of service:

"E per regnare avanza
 Segnor che perdonanza
 Usa nel tempo che si può vengiare."(3)

"Lo fino Amor cortese ch'ammaestra
 D'umil sofferenza ogni suo dritto servo,
 Mi mena con la sua dolce man destra,
 Però che 'l suo voler tutto conservo;"(4)

He refers to the lady painted within his heart(5) and wishes that he himself were but a painted image. He introduces a slight mirror image(6) mentions the phoenix in passing(7), uses an occasional proverbial saying(8) and writes a lapidarian sonnet in which he enumerates a number of precious jewels(9), finally he pays a tribute to the May morning convention in an exquisite

(1) Zaccagnini p. 154.

(2) " p. 43.

(3) " p. 46.

(4) " p. 76.

(5) " p. 70

(6) Zaccagnini p. 158.

(7) " p. 202.

(8) " p. 96 and p. 105.

(9) " p. 167.

sonnet where he describes a meadow carpeted with white flowers which the wind moves. The reference to the planets marks the poem as a late production and the reference to the whites of the lady's eyes gives that slightly humorous suggestion which was quite unknown in poets prior to the Tuscans:

"Io guardo per li prati ogni fior bianco
 Per rimembranza di quel che mi face
 Si vago di sospir ch'io ne cheggio anco.
 E mi rimembra de la bianca parte,
 Che fa col verdebrun la bella taglia,
 La qual vestio Amore
 Nel tempo che, guardando Vener Marte,
 Con quella sua saetta che più taglia,
 Mi diè per mezzo 'l core:
 E quando l'aura muove 'l bianco fiore,
 Rimembro de' begli occhi 'l dolce bianco,"(1)
 Per cui lo mio desir ma' non fie stanco."

There is in Cino da Pistoia, as Carducci says, a forecast of the manner of Petrarch. To my mind it is shown chiefly in the realm of rhetoric figures by a preponderant use of classical allusions, the influence of humanism is thus making itself felt. Cino da Pistoia betrays a knowledge of classical mythology and even of classical history, which his contemporaries and predecessors did not possess. As this element really comes beyond the scope of these investigations we do not propose to deal with it, we shall confine ourselves to this brief indication of its presence.

In conclusion we are left with a few scattered threads to

(1) Zaccagnini p. 88.

gather up. Cino da Pistoia introduces a full simile from gold-washing which is very interesting:

"I' mi son tutto dato a tragger oro
 A poco a poco del fiume che 'l mena,
 Pensando m'arriechire,
 E credone ammassar più che 'l re Poro,
 Traggendol sottilmente da la rena,
 Ond'io spero gioire.
 E penso tanto a questo mio lavoro,
 Che s'i' trovasse d'ariento vena,
 Non mi poria gradire,
 Perciò che non mi par che sia tesoro,
 Se non quello che tragge 'l cor di pena
 E contenta il disire.
 Però io mi contento pur d'amare
 Voi, gentil donna, da cui mi conviene
 Più sottilmente la speranza trare
 Che l'oro di quel fiume.
 Di ciò ch'un altro amante trarria pene
 Spesse fiate mi fa rallegrare:
 Ch'i' m'assottiglio di traer del mal bene
 E de lo scuro lume."(1)

The parallel is carefully worked out, and the idea is referred to again in CLXXIV.(2) Like Guido Orlandi, Cavalcanti and Dante, he too has a vision; it is an ideal city of love, built on a high rock by the hand of God, with a tower at every corner and a spring of living water in the centre. The influence of the Apocalypse is of course evident here:

"Un' alta ricca rocca e forte manto
 Volesse Dio che monte ricco avesse,
 Che di gente inimica non temesse,
 Avendo un' alta torre d'ogni canto,
 E fosse d'ogni ben compita, quanto
 Core pensare o lingua dir potesse,
 E quine poi lo dio d'Amore stesse

(1) Zaccagnini p. 83.

(2) " p. 239.

"Con li amorosi cori in gioia e 'n canto;
 E poi vorrei che nel mezzo sorgesse
 Un' acqua vertudiosa d'amor tanto,
 Che lor bagnando, dolce vita desse,
 E perchè più fedele 'l mio cor vanto,
 Vorrei che 'l confalon fra quei tenesse
 Chi porta di soffrir più grave ammanto." (1)

A delightful play of fancy describes his lady as a blackbird; and this surely is the knight we encountered before, for the fair tresses of Selvaggia have now a dark rival. Critics are exercised as to the application of the "nere penne," but we must not be too exacting in dealing with poetic conceits.

"Per una merla che dintorno al volto
 Sovravolando di sicur mi venne,
 Sento ch'Amore è tutto in me raccolto,
 Lo quale uscìo de le sue nere penne,
 Ch'a me medesimo m'è furato e tolto,
 Nè d'altro poscia mai non mi sovenne,
 E non mi val tra spine essere involto,
 Più che colui che 'l simile sostenne.
 Io non so come ad esser mi ritorni,
 Chè questa merla m'è sì fatto suo,
 Che sol voler mia libertà non oso.
 Amico, or metti qui 'l consiglio tuo,
 Che, s'egli avien pur ch'io così soggiorni,
 Almen non viva tanto doloroso." (2)

In closing this section we cannot do other than quote the opening lines of Cino's poem on the death of Dante, the more especially as they are characterised by rhetoric language of a high order - the wings are broken, the spring is dry:

"Su per la costa, Amor, de l'alto monte,
 Dietro a lo stil del vostro ragionare,

(1) Zaccagnini p. 168.

(2) " p. 192.

"Or chi potrà montare,
 Poi che son rotte l'ale d'ogni ingegno?
 I' penso ch'egli è secca quella fonte,
 Ne la cui acqua si potea specchiare
 Ciascun del suo errare,
 Se ben volem guardar nel dritto segno."(1)

(1) Zaccagnini pp. 256 - 7.

Dante.

The life of Dante is so familiar to all students that we shall not permit ourselves to touch upon it. Except for a detailed study of rhetoric language in the "Vita Nuova," "Convivio" and "Rime," every possible aspect of his work has been examined. L. Venturi in his book "Le Similitudini Dantesche" confines his investigations strictly to the "Divina Commedia" leaving the earlier works entirely untouched, and till we actually approach the matter of rhetoric figures there remains nothing for us to discuss, the path has been prepared already by eminent modern critics.

Dante's position with regard to the "stil nuovo" is determined by Volpi and Bertoni: "Per quanto Dante consideri se come l'inauguratore dello stil nuovo, è certo ch'egli non fece che svolgere completamente certi motivi e certi principi che v'erano già." (1) "Dante chiude nel suo canzonere, non ancora apprezzato quanto merita, perchè ancor poco studiato, la potenza drammatica del Cavalcanti. Il Cavalcanti, spirito delicato, febbrile e austero, morbosamente facile agli sdegni e all' ire e amante della solitudine, e Dante nella sua profonda sensibilità e nella sua nobile fierezza possono bene essere definiti i primi poeti moderni d'Italia." (2)

Thus Dante was indebted to his immediate predecessors in

(1) Volpi Storia lett. d'Italia, p. 10.

(2) Bertoni Studi med. II. p. 386.

the new school of poetry, and he bore a special kinship to Guido Cavalcanti. But far did he surpass all his fellows. he is indeed the flame on the candle bracket. An appreciation of his work as a poet of the "dolce stil nuovo" is given by Bertoni, drawing attention particularly to the dramatic power of the language: "Dante che sta in cima a questi poeti, come la fiamma sul doppiero, accoglie, nel suo canzoniere, le novità del dolce stil e le abbellà d'una luce perenne di gloria.

Nelle sue rime amorose c'è un' estasi infinita, c'è una dolcezza senza nome, c'è un incanto come di sogno che vapori in bianca e leggera nube intorno al capo di madonna. Come nel Guinicelli e negli altri rimatori, è in Dante ammirabile la penetrazione dell' amore mistico con il mondano. che gli fa dire dell' aspetto della donna amata:

giova
A consentir ciò che pur meraviglia
Onde la nostra fede è aiutata

o anche:

Ancor le ha Dio per maggior grazia dato,
Che non può mal finir chi le ha parlato."(1)

In altre liriche (le "petrose"), il verso è pieno d'indomita vigoria e le rime balzano. fischiano, stridono, urlano con un movimento indiavolato, mentre nelle poesie filosofiche o morali le strofe sono serrate e compatte come sillogismi d'acciaio..... Le cose della realtà, tocche dalla sua parola, paiono trasfigurarsi; ogni sentimento si riveste d'un abito di filosofia vera e umana; ogni immagine brilla nel verso come una gemma incas-

(1) Vita Nuova XIX.

tonata nell' oro. Egli contempera la drammaticità del suo "primo amico" con la forza di rappresentazione dell' innovatore bolognese, superandoli entrambi. Egli è veramente il gran mago, che passa e tocca, e ciò che tocca si fa, come per miracolo, poesia."⁽¹⁾

Volpi shows how Dante's manner changed during the writing of the Vita Nuova, the turning-point being the canzone "Donne ch'avete intelletto d'amore." He explains how at first the great poet was a follower of Guido Cavalcanti and that he too was guilty of an over-indulgence in "sottigliezze metafisiche," but he does not point out that the transformation produced by the great canzone was inspired by Guido Guinizelli whom Dante calls "Il Saggio" - "il meo padre."

"Non gaiezza di cielo, d'area e di campagna ha l'ammiratore e poi oscuratore di Guido, Dante, della cui lirica amorosa devo toccare brevemente quanto è necessario per la continuità dell' argomento. Del resto, nella prima parte della Vita Nuova Dante seguita la maniera del Cavalcanti e così in altre liriche che si riferiscono a quel primo periodo (Io mi son Pargoletta..... Di donne io vidi.....O dolci rime.....La dispietata mente ecc.) L'amore è considerato umanamente: si descrive di frequente la lotta interna del poeta; e nell' espressione di questo amore si trovano ora sottigliezze metafisiche, ora semplicità di pensiero e freschezza di forme.....La seconda maniera, questa

(1) Bertoni 'Il duecento' p. 178.

in cui Dante si distacca dai suoi predecessori e inaugura un nuovo periodo letterario comincia, come s'è visto, con la canzone "Donne ch'avete." Il poeta è ora tutto occupato a celebrare le lodi della donna amata e il canto della lode è tranquillo, solenne, senza singulti, senza stridi, come un canto di chiesa. Ed infatti la lirica si fa più spirituale, talora addirittura religiosa. Guido una volta sola (nella ballata "Fresca rosa novella") paragona la sua donna a un angelo, chiamandola "angelicata criatura" e dicendole: "Angelica sembianza In voi, donna, riposa." E Dante non solo la paragona a un angelo, non solo la dice "venuta Di cielo in terra a miracol mostrare" ma immagina che la bellezza della sua donna passi i cieli e sia desiderata a render perfetto il Paradiso; e dice "che non può mal finir chi le ha parlato." (1)

The relation of Dante to the troubadours is an everfruitful source of discussion, and we cannot undertake to mention all the articles which have been written on the subject. So far as we know the question of rhetoric language has not hitherto been treated of in this connection. A. G. Ferrers Howell tells us (2) that the Vita Nuova contains frequent "verbal reminiscences of the troubadours" and that these are worked out by Scherillo, but these are not necessarily figurative. His last word on the subject is that the troubadours furnished Dante with examples of technical skill, far surpassing any that his Italian

(1) Volpi Storia lett. d'Italia III.

(2) 'Dante and the Troubadours; Essays in Commemoration.'

predecessors could supply. Mr. Howell, however discusses the subject of Provençal influence in his work on Dante (The People's Books), and he now takes up a rather different aspect - he shows the debt which Dante's conception of love owed to the ideas of the Provençal lyric and demonstrates at the same time, how far the Italian conventions differ in spirit from those of the troubadours, explaining at the end, in the words of Parodi, how the "dolce stil nuovo" was really a blending of the old troubadour tradition with the new scholastic mysticism: "Not only do we find Dante's claim in general to the direct inspiration of love apparently anticipated by the troubadours, but we notice an apparent identity in the sentiments expressed by him and by them. Thus in the second stanza of "Donne ch'avete" we find Dante representing the saints and angels in paradise entreating God to make heaven perfect by summoning thither the soul of "Madonna." Even so the troubadour Ponz de Capdubill in his dirge on the death of the lady Azalais de Mercoeur declares that the angels above are exulting over her death, and awards her a seat in heaven above all other women.⁽¹⁾ And elsewhere⁽²⁾ the same poet declares, in speaking of a certain lady Beatrice, that all the angels are rejoicing for love of her. In the third stanza Dante says: "My lady is desired in the high heaven etc."

In the same way the troubadour Peire Rogier declares concerning his lady, "that there is none so ill-conditioned but

(1) Napolski pp. 86 - 7.

(2) Op. cit. p. 75.

would become chivalrous, however much of a churl he might have been before, did he but speak a word or two with her."⁽¹⁾ And Ponz de Capduoill, addressing the object of his homage, says, "the greatest churl is, when he sees you chivalrous, and bears you good faith."⁽²⁾ Sordello declares with regard to the lady whose praise he is singing, that all the most excellent ladies ought to yield her obedience, for that she is their guide to excellence, even as the pole-star guides the ships, and the magnet draws the iron.⁽³⁾ And Aimeric de Pegulhan, whom Dante quotes in the "De Vulgari Eloquentia," says in reference to his love that "many a time it keeps him from baseness from which he could not otherwise keep himself."

Now these resemblances are certainly striking, but if we read the troubadours' poems in full, from which these extracts are taken, we shall be struck by the profound difference between their point of view and that of Dante in the "Donne ch'avete." We shall see that in the troubadours' lyrics the thought is not developed at all (except in Aimeric de Pegulhan's poem which seems to have a truer ring than the others), and that there is very little at the back of these high-sounding phrases, they are superficial compliments, the poet desires something in return.⁽⁴⁾

Even so Arnaut Danieldeclares in his bombastic way that unless his mistress makes up for her ill-treatment of him

(1) Appel, 'Lieder des Trobadors' p. Rogier, p. 55.

(2) Napolski p. 60.

(3) De Lollis p. 178.

(4) pp. 42 - 44.

by a kiss before the new year, she kills him, and dooms herself to hell. Now observe that this, though in a very much purified form, is the attitude of Dante himself in that part of the *Vita Nuova* preceding the crisis described in paragraph 18, which leads up to the ode "Donne ch'avete" in paragraph 19. The Ballata in paragraph 12, for instance, might almost have been written by one of the earlier troubadours. Ponz de Capduoill's poem quoted above is, in fact, a composition of exactly the same kind, i.e. an apology to an offended mistress. In the ode "La dispietata marte" (*canzoniere*), which belongs to this early period of Dante's "new life," he too prays for the reward of his mistress's salutation. But in "Donne ch'avete" the whole point of view is altered. The poem is not directly addressed to the object of Dante's homage at all, and the simple phrases of the old troubadours are developed into a magnificent ode, in which the glorious attributes of Beatrice, are treated almost impersonally. Far from claiming or expecting any reward for his devotion, he wishes that all who are worthy may "prove her virtue" and be eternally blessed through her. Here we have the chivalrous love of the troubadours raised, so to speak, to a higher power; and it is in this ampler conception of the love inspired by woman that the novelty of the "new style" appears to consist.⁽¹⁾ (Contrast *Vita Nuova*, paragraph XXVII. with the old idea that the lady's beauty annoyed all other ladies.) On the philoso-

(1) pp. 45 - 6.

phic background of this ode, V. Rossi remarks in a lecture on the *Dolce Stil Nuovo*⁽¹⁾ "The principle of spiritual love, so he (Guinicelli) reasoned, treading in the footsteps of St. Thomas Aquinas, is the contemplation of spiritual beauty or goodness, imagined, seen in glimpses, or perceived by intuition through the veil of the body. But such contemplation suffices not to produce that union of affection between the loving soul and the beloved, which is love, unless the former be disposed by nature to deck itself with the spiritual beauty which shines already in the latter. Love, conceived as a cause of virtue, as a stimulus to the habitual practice of good, cannot arise where that disposition is wanting - that is to say, where "gentleness of heart" is not, which thing is an inborn disposition to virtue." To this may be added an observation by another eminent Dantist, E. G. Parodi⁽²⁾: "Two great traditions, he says, flow together in the New Style: the poetic tradition of the troubadours and the scientific tradition of the Scholastic Philosophy. In the former, the object of rational and noble love is woman, in the latter, God. The "new rhymes" reconcile the two opposite tendencies, by making woman the symbol of a Higher Essence and embodying in her the Divine."

Bertoni gives a succinct account of the general points of contact between Dante and the troubadours: "Anche Dante per lo schema della 'Vita Nuova' ebbe presente forse l'avvicinarsi

(1) *Lectura Dantis: Le Opere Minori*, p. 42.

(2) *Bullettino della Soc. Dant.* XI. 171.

delle "razos" e dei componimenti in certi manoseritti provenzali, e sopra tutto, a quanto è presumibile, ebbe ad ispirarsi alle "razos" e alle liriche di Bertran de Born, ch'egli ricorda nel 'De vulgari eloquentia' e nella 'Commedia.' E per non toccare dei versi provenzali notissimi che si hanno appunto nella 'Commedia,' mi limiterò ad osservare che Dante, primo, tolse ad Arnaldo la Sestina e alcune dolci immagini derivò da Bernart da Ventadorn e cantò in fondo la materia stessa degli "ensenhamen" provenzali in tre canzoni: "Le dolci rime d'amor ch'io solia," nella quale tratta della nobiltà; "Poscia che Amor del tutto m'ha lasciato," ov' è parola della leggiadria; "Doglia mi reca nello core ardire," in cui si discorre della regola o misura.

Anche in una quarta canzone, ch'è una delle sue migliori e più profonde, "Tre donne intorno al cor mi son venute," trovasi forse un lontano ricordo d'un componimento di Guiraut de Borneill, nel quale si condanna la decadenza morale in forma di dialogo tra una giovinetta e il poeta."⁽¹⁾

W. P. Ker⁽²⁾ gives a very full and documented account of the relations between Dante, Guido Guinicelli and Arnaut Daniel, taking as main subject of discussion the conversations with Bonagiunta of Lucca⁽³⁾ with Guido Guinicelli and Arnaut Daniel⁽⁴⁾ The work of Santangelo 'Dante e i trovatori provenzali' contributes little to the subject that has not already been said.

Having set out the views of modern critics upon those

(1) Bertoni Studi Med. II.p. 362.

(2) Modern Language Review, Jan. 1909.

(3) Purg. XXIV.

(4) Purg. XXVI.

questions which are most nearly allied to the work in hand we proceed now to a study of the rhetoric language employed by Dante. We shall deal first with the Vita Nuova and Convivio, secondly with the Rime. With regard to the Vita Nuova and Convivio we should like to point out that prose and verse have been treated as one. It has seemed to me that Dante's fastidious attention to form would have been violated by severing the one from the other, particularly in the Vita Nuova.⁽¹⁾

Dante does not use figures of speech lavishly as a general rule and his number of figures is strictly limited. He makes a frequent use of Simile and has a great love of Periphrasis in certain well defined cases; while perhaps the most important of his figures is Personification. We are made bold to say this because it is the only figure which Dante thinks fit to comment upon either in the Vita Nuova or the Convivio, also, it seems to be the only one which he uses consciously. In Chap. XXV. of the Vita Nuova, which we will discuss more fully later, he sets out to "apologise" for his personification of love, and we are tempted to hope for a full explanation of this. he gets out of the difficulty however in rather an unfair way. Personification is distinct from the other figures because of this conscious art with which it is employed; a consciousness which arises purely from the fact that it was the most important rhetoric feature of the "dolce stil nuovo" and that everywhere li-

(1) All quotations are taken from the "Testo Critico."

terature was steeped in allegory with all its attendant characteristics. Dante, of course, is not referring here to the concrete treatment of mental processes.

Dante's use of Simile is almost entirely spontaneous - it is not contrived, in any sense. The figures are of various kinds, some are purely lyrical - and these are less frequent - some come from the Hebrew prophets and psalmists, some, he chooses from the simple things of everyday life in the workaday world. There are two of these in the Vita Nuova which seem to have slipped out by accident⁽¹⁾ and have the sincere ring of true feeling. They are suggested to Dante by a common emotion. However, there are great masses of them in the Convivio, and here they are again used spontaneously although inspired by the unerring instinct of the teacher. They are used to press home a point or to explain a hard saying, for this reason we might call them explanatory figures. It is interesting to note that both Simile and Metaphor are rarely used in the poems, we find them chiefly in the prose.

We shall not include the visions among the other figures because although they are to all intents and purposes allegorical, Dante certainly did not regard them as rhetoric conceits. They are wilfully constructed to express a definite symbolical meaning but they could hardly be called literary figures, they are akin to many of the visions of the Bible. Dante calls them

(1) Vita Nuova, XII. ll. 8 - 9, XXX. ll. 1 - 2.

dreams⁽¹⁾ on several occasions and he evidently assumed that a dream could have an interpretation, besides, this was a common belief in the Middle Ages. He reverses the natural process accordingly and clothes a thought in the disguise of a dream.

The device of a dream vision, it will be remembered, was adopted upon one occasion by Guiraut de Bornelh,⁽²⁾ it tells of a tame hawk which came and perched upon the poet's wrist, but the interpretation is not very clear. It occurs in an Italian troubadour⁽³⁾ in the form of a political allegory, but the famous dream of Dante in Vita Nuova III. has its origin in the legend, or 'what you will,' of the heart. This legend occurs in the lives of the troubadours. The lady of Guillaume de Cabestaing was made to eat her lover's heart by her cruel husband. The idea appears in a different form in Sordello's 'planh' for Blacatz where he enumerates all those who should partake of the latter's heart.⁽⁴⁾ Dante's version is different from either and its meaning remains somewhat obscure, none of those to whom he sent his sonnet could read the riddle, nor can we to-day although we are told "Lo ve-race giudicio.....ora è manifestissimo a li più simplici."

We shall turn our attention in the first place to Periphrasis because it is the figure most easily disposed of, and one which is peculiar to Dante's style. We do not find it at all in the Convivio: it is, on the other hand, very common in the Vita Nuova and it is used in three connections. 1) Dante

(1) Dante had a profound knowledge of Albertus Magnus' theory of sleep (cp. Toynbee 'Ricerche e note dantesche'). The doctrine of Guido Cavalcanti and Dante was owed in great part to the natural and mystical works of Albertus Magnus.

(2) Kolsen p. 230.

(3) Bertoni p. 259.

(4) Cp. also legend of Sant' Isidoro as in the 'Trésor.'

never refers directly to God, to Christ or to the Virgin Mary. These names seem to him too sacred to be referred to summarily, and therefore he disguises them. The following are the chief examples: V. 1. 2, VIII. 1. 2, XXII. 1. 2, XXVIII. 11. 4 - 7, LXII. 11. 6, 8 - 9, 11 - 12. It is noteworthy that this scruple does not extend to the other work, possibly because it is written in a different atmosphere. In the Vita Nuova Dante's emotions are at a very high pitch, he is living in very close touch with the spiritual world and he is morbidly sensitive about everything appertaining to it. Anything concrete coming into collision with that world jars at once upon his susceptibilities. In the Convivio he is in a saner and more normal frame of mind and his sensibilities are less acute. 2) The second connection in which Dante invariably employs periphrasis is in speaking of death, as in: XXII. 11. 4 - 5, XXVIII. 11. 4 - 7, XXXIV. 11. 1 - 2. But this is not to be wondered at. Death from the beginning of time has been referred to indirectly whenever it touches us nearly. It is a subject which lends itself peculiarly to Periphrasis - no one knows what death is and we may call it by many names which its nature seems to suggest. 3) Last comes the celebrated Periphrasis used in connection with Beatrice and all those related to her, we find it in: V. 11. 1 - 3, XXII. 11. 3 - 5, XXXIV. 11. 1 - 2, XXXII. 11. 3 - 5. There seems to be no reason for dwelling further on this point, we all

know the state of mind which prompted it, remembering that to Dante, Beatrice was the consummation of all that is pure and sacred in life.

Turning now to Simile and Metaphor it is curious to note that there are only four similes in the whole of the Vita Nuova, while there must be approximately fifty in the Convivio. Without exception Dante's similes are all natural, that is to say they are not artificial or in any sense premeditated, although often borrowed from the poetic vocabulary of the time. It is also interesting to note that he uses these similes in prose rather than in verse. In each work there is only one example of a simile used in a poem: Vita Nuova p. 32, ll. 2 - 3

"E Vedeà, che parean pioggia di manna,
Li angeli che tornavan suso in cielo."

Convivio p. 203, ll. 59 - 60.

"Elle soverchian lo nostro intelletto,
Come raggio di sole un frale viso."

Metaphor, likewise, hardly appears at all in the poems. There is one example in the Vita Nuova: p. 22, ll. 33 - 4

"Gitta nei cor villani Amore un gelo
Perche onne lor pensero agghiaccia e pere."

The idea of manna as we have found was used occasionally both

by Provençal and Italian, the "raggio di sole" is also a poetic commonplace, (though the "frate viso" is Dante's own human touch) and the frost which is to slay evil is merely a new application of an old image.

In the *Convivio*, there is one on p. 203, l. 63 which, later on, Dante is at some pains to interpret - "Sua bieltà piove fiammelle di foco." This fantastic use of "piove" however is a characteristic of the new style, as we had occasion to see in Guido Cavalcanti and Cino da Pistoia.

The figures in the *Vita Nuova* are remarkable for their character of utter simplicity. Two have been already mentioned for their ring of sincere feeling and their rather pathetic note: "m'addormentai come un pargoletto battuto lagrimando," "rimase tutta la sopradetta cittade quasi vedova dispogliata di ogni dignitade." The third is a beautiful example of simile from "nature" as we understand the term to-day, and it strikes us very forcibly amid its rather formal surroundings: "Si come talora vedemo cadere l'acqua mischiata di bella neve, così mi pareva udire le loro parole uscire mischiate di sospiri."⁽¹⁾

As explained before, the similes in the *Convivio* are employed spontaneously with the true instinct of the public speaker or the teacher who knows that abstract logic, if it is to be grasped, must be illustrated by a concrete example. Strangely enough there is one Simile where Dante says - "volendo.....figu-

(1) XVIII. 11. 26 - 29.

rare con una imagine." It is the only instance of this kind and why he calls our attention deliberately to his figure is hard to determine. It is not a striking one, nor even a very good one cp. Convivio, p. 265 ll. 16 - 21, but the explanatory phrase makes the intention of the poet very clear.

It is rather a difficult matter to group these figures in any satisfactory way according to principles, because, if we leave out the lyrical passage on Dante's exile from Florence, they are all used with the same object. The only satisfactory method seems to be to gather them under headings. Thus we have - 1) Similes of towns and fortresses, 2) Biblical similes, 3) Similes from the Arts and Crafts, 4) Similes of the road, 5) of the ship, 6) Similes from "nature" and natural phenomena. There are odd figures such as geometrical illustrations which are not numerous enough to be classed in a group. With a few striking exceptions the Metaphors can be grouped under the same headings; almost every type of Simile being reinforced by Metaphor.

We have not far to seek the reason of Dante's fondness for figures taken from a city. The civilisation of the time was one which centred in the communes. The terrible guerilla warfare between towns, partly due to rivalry or family feuds, partly accruing from the constant struggle between pope and emperor in which all were called to play a part, made the belea-

guered city a commonplace. Of course this is a very old figure. If Dante knew the Bible as well as we are led to believe from his language in the Vita Nuova, he must often have seen it there, but for him it had a peculiarly real significance, for us it is another proof of the loss of feudal imagery. The besieged castle has become the walled city.

Similes: "Si come chiamare solemo la cittade quelli che la tengono, e non coloro che la combattono, avvegna che l'uno e l'altro sia cittadino."(1)

"Ed è simigliante a l'opera di quello savio guerrero che combatte lo castello da uno lato per levare la difesa da l'altro, che non vanno ad una parte la 'ntenzione de l'aiutorio e la battaglia."(2)

Metaphors: "ne la cittade del bene vivere."(3)

"Beatrice tenea ancora la rocca de la mia mente."(4)

Taking the Biblical figures next we find that Dante makes use of these just as any person would who knew the Bible well. The Middle Ages were steeped in ecclesiastical literature and biblical expressions flow very readily from Dante's pen. In this respect he resembles Cino da Pistoia who frequently adopted scriptural phraseology.

"E però che con quella misura che l'uomo misura se medesimo, misura le sue cose, che sono quasi parte di se medesimo, avviene che al magnanimo le sue cose sempre paiono migliori che non sono e l'altrui men buone: lo pusillanimo sempre le sue cose crede valere poco, e l'altrui assai."(5)

"Per ch'è da notare che pericolosissima negli-

(1) p. 183.

(2) p. 228.

(3) p. 300.

(4) p. 173.

(5) p. 166.

"genza è lasciare la mala oppinione prendere piede; che così come l'erba moltiplica nel campo non cultato, e sormonta, e cuopre la spiga del frumento sì che, disparte agguardando, lo frumento non pare, e perdesi lo frutto finalmente, così la mala oppinione ne la mente, non gastigata e corretta, si cresce e moltiplica sì che le spighe de la ragione, cioè la vera oppinione, si nasconde e quasi sepulta si perde."(1)

"E vedea, che parean pioggia di manna,
Li angeli che tornavan suso in cielo,"(2)

"Ella coronata e vestita d'umiltade s'andava,
nulla gloria mostrando di ciò ch'ella vedea
e udia."(3)

"Questo sarà quello pane orzato del quale si
saterolleranno migliaia, e a me ne soperchieran-
no le sporte piene. Questo sarà luce nuova,
sole nuovo, lo quale surgerà là dove l'usato
tramonterà, e darà lume a coloro che sono in
tenebre e in oscuritade, per lo usato sole che
a loro non luce."(4)

"La tenebra de la ignoranza mondana."(5)

"proposi di gridare a la gente che per mal
cammino andavano, acciò che per diritto calle
si dirizzassero;"(6)

"Oh buone biade, e buona e ammirabile sementa!
e oh ammirabile e benigno seminatore, che non
attende se non che la natura umana li apparec-
chi la terra a seminare!"(7)

These figures belong to Dante's style and would appear in any section of his work, being more or less numerous according to the tone of the passage, they are most frequent in sombre passages, but are not dependent on the subject-matter, being part and parcel of Dante's writing equipment.

(1) p. 259.

(2) p. 32.

(3) p. 36.

(4) p. 169.

(5) p. 187.

(6) p. 246.

(7) p. 292.

Figures from the arts and crafts are perhaps the most numerous of all and in this respect Dante bears a likeness to the troubadours. He employs such images because he wishes all who read the prose commentaries to understand them, although they may not aspire to the canzoni; but it is possible that, like the Provençals he has a keen interest in the scenes of everyday life. He borrows oftenest from this source because he requires concrete examples with which everyone is familiar. Everyone knows the merchant whose balance is not true, everyone knows how swords are made, everyone has met the lute-player who can't play his lute. If Dante's teaching is to be conveyed to all, he must be content sometimes to employ humble figures and he seems fully to realise this. Like Shakespeare in his latest stages Dante turns to common and even to prosaic things for his images. Even here one has the feeling however, that he does not consciously make a selection of these figures, they flow spontaneously from his pen, obedient to his unerring instinct and bewitched by his poetic gift. His intuitive recognition of the right kind of figure to use, his keen judgment, and a deep knowledge of human nature, were the sources upon which he drew. On page 148 Dante says:

"Ma vegna qua qualunque e per cura civile o familiare ne la umana fame rimaso, e ad una mensa con li altri simili impediti s'assetti: e a li loro piedi si pongano tutti quelli

"che per pigrizia si sono stati, che non sono degni di più alto sedere: e quelli e questi prendano la mia vivanda col pane, che la faro loro e gustare e patire"

and on page 161:

"questi nobili sono principi, baroni, cavalieri, e molt' altra nobile gente, non solamente maschi ma femmine, che sono molti e molte in questa lingua, volgari, e non litterati."

T These two passages show that the Convivio was intended for a wide public but for a non-literary public. For this reason Dante employed the vulgar tongue and for the same reason he uses explanatory figures. He knew that if people who are not accustomed to thinking hard, are to understand abstract truths they must first begin from some concrete instance with which they are familiar.

The following are the instances from the Arts and Crafts:

"dicemo una spada virtuosa che ben taglia le dure cose, a che essa è ordinata." (1)

"E a vituperio di loro dico che non si deono chiamare litterati, però che non acquistano la lettera per lo suo uso, ma in quanto per quella guadagnano denari o dignitate; sì come non si dee chiamare citarista chi tiene la cetera in casa per prestarla per prezzo, e non per usarla per sonare." (2)

"sì come lo mal fabbro biasima lo ferro appresentato a lui, e lo malo citarista biasima la cetera, credendo dare la colpa del mal col-

(1) p. 155.

(2) p. 161.

"-tello e del mal sonare al ferro e alla cetera, e levarla a sè. Così sono alquanti, e non pochi, che vogliono che l'uomo li tegna dicitori; e per scusarsi dal non dire o dal dire male accusano e incolpano la materia, cioè lo volgare proprio, e commendano l'altro, lo quale non è loro richesto di fabbricare."(1)

"si come colui che biasimasse lo ferro d'una spada, non per biasimo dare al ferro, ma a tutta l'opera del maestro."(2)

"Non è (inconveniente) a cosa esser più cagioni efficienti, avvegna che una sia massima de l'altre; onde lo fuoco e lo martello sono cagioni efficienti de lo coltello, avvegna che massimamente è il fabbro. Questo mio volgare fu congiuntore de li miei generanti, che con esso parlavano. sì come 'l fuoco è disponente del ferro al fabbro che fa lo coltello; per che manifesto è lui essere concorso a la mia generazione, e così essere alcuna cagione del mio essere."(3)

"si come impossibile la forma de l'oro è venire, se la materia, cioè lo suo subietto, non è digesta e apparecchiata; e la forma de l'arca venire, se la materia, cioè lo legno, non è prima disposta e apparecchiata. Onde con ciò sia cosa che la litterale sentenza sempre sia subietto e materia de l'altre, massimamente de l'allegorica, impossibile è prima venire a la conoscenza de l'altre che a la sua."(4)

"si come sono li colpi del martello cagione del coltello, e l'anima del fabbro è cagione efficiente e movente; e così non forza, ma ragione, e ancora divina, (conviene) essere stata principio del romano imperio."(5)

"Onde avviene che ciascuno ha nel suo giudicio le misure del falso mercatante, che vende con l'una e compera con l'altra; e ciascuno con ampia misura cerca lo suo mal fare e con piccola cerca lo bene; sì che 'l numero e la quantità e 'l peso del bene li pare più che se con giusta misura fosse saggiato, e quello del male meno."(6)

(1) p. 165.

(2) p. 166.

(3) p. 168.

(4) p. 172.

(5) p. 252.

(6) p. 150.

"E però che in questa canzone s'intese a rimedio così necessario, non era buono sotto alcuna figura parlare, ma convennesi per via tostana questa medicina, acciò che fosse tostana la sanitate, (dare); la quale corrotta, a così laida morte si correa."(1)

Though no one figure suggests a Provencal counterpart the type is exactly the same, the troubadours refer to the weavers, the archers, the carpenters, the goldsmiths in a like manner. The secret of the popularity of such figures is possibly the growth of the guilds, but notice that Dante uses these images in prose only.

Turning now to the figure of the road we find it comparatively easy to divine why Dante employs it so frequently. It has always been a favourite figure for allegory because of the common quality which it shares with many of our enterprises and with the progress of life⁽²⁾ in particular. It is a figure also which would suggest itself to Dante with peculiar significance as he himself was a wanderer at the time of writing~~ing~~:

"Una pianura e con certi sentieri: campo con siepi, con fossati, con pietre, con legname, con tutti quasi impedimenti, fuori de li suoi stretti sentieri. Nevato è sì, che tutto cuopre la neve e rende una figura in ogni parte, sì che d'alcuno sentiero vestigio non si vede. Viene alcuno da l'una parte de la campagna e vuole andare a una magione che è da l'altra parte; e per sua industria, cioè per accorgimento e per bontade d'ingegno, solo da se guidato, per lo diritto cammino si va la dove intende, lasciando le vestigie de li suoi passi

(1) p. 246.

(2) Figures of the road are also connected with the growth of Florentine commerce. (cp. Convivio, p. 275, section 11.)

"diretro da sè. Viene un altro appresso costui, e vuole a questa magione andare, e non li è mestiere se non seguire li vestigi lasciati; e, per suo difetto, lo cammino. che altri senza scorta ha saputo tenere, questo scorto erra, e tortisce per li pruni e per le ruine, e a la parte dove dee non va."(1)

this is a long and complicated figure, partaking more of the nature of allegory. In it Dante gives full rein to his love of raising a vivid picture.

"E sì come peregrino che va per una via per la quale mai non fue, che ogni casa che da lungi vede crede che sia l'albergo, e non trovando ciò essere, dirizza la credenza a l'altra, e così di casa in casa, tanto che a l'albergo viene;"(2)

"E sì come vedemo che quello che dirittissimo vae a la cittade, e compie lo desiderio e dà posa dopo la fatica, e quello che va in contrario mai nol compie e mai posa dare non può, così ne la nostra vita avviene: "lo buono camminatore giugne a termine e a posa; lo erroneo mai non l'aggiugne, ma con molta fatica del suo animo sempre con li occhi gulosi si mira innanzi."(2)

"e seguendo solo quello che la ragione per sè ne puote vedere, dico che questa prima etade è porta e via per la quale s'entra ne la nostra buona vita."(3)

"così l'adolescente, che entra ne la selva erronea di questa vita, non saprebbe tenere lo buono cammino, se da li suoi maggiori non li fosse mostrato."(4)

"E sì come a colui che viene di lungo cammino, anzi ch'entri ne la porta de la sua cittade, li si fanno incontro li cittadini di quella, così a la nobile anima si fanno incontro, e deono fare, quelli cittadini de la eterna vita;"(5)

(1) pp. 259 - 260.

(2) p. 273.

(3) p. 300.

(4) p. 301.

(5) p. 310.

"e attende lo fine di questa vita con molto desiderio e uscir le pare de l'albergo e ritornare in cittade, uscir le pare di mare e tornare a porto."(1)

cp. also p. 246, l. 9, and p. 300 l. 33

The traditional image of a ship is also a very old one - it has lent itself to figurative use ever since men have been sailors. It has been a favourite figure from the troubadours onwards, but the Sicilians are always credited with a special love for the sea:

"Com' om ch'è in mare, ed ha spene di gire,
Quando vede lo tempo, ed ello spanna,
E già mai la speranza no lo 'nganna,
Così faccio, madonna, in voi venier.

.....
E spanda le mie vele inver voi, rosa,
E prenda porto la 've si riposa
Lo mio core allo vostro insegnamento."(2)

Dante then has inherited the idea; he uses it somewhat differently, however. With the Sicilians it is used to beautify love-poetry - the lover desires to be with his lady as a ship strains to reach the harbour. Dante, on the other hand, uses it for any purpose but this:(3)

"Veramente io sono stato legno senza vela e
senza governo, portato a diversi porti e foci
e liti dal vento secco che vapora la dolorosa
povertade;"(4)

"lo tempo chiama e domanda mia nave uscir di
porto; per che, dirizzato l'artimoni de la
ragione a l'ora del mio desiderio, entro in

(1) p. 310.

(2) Pietro delle Vigne.

(3) The apotheosis of the "ship" similes is to be found in the *Paradiso*, where it returns to something of its earlier application.

(4) p. 152.

"pelago con isperanza di dolce cammino e di salutevole porto e laudabile ne la fine de la mia cena."(1)

"Si come vedemo in una nave, che diversi uffici e diversi fini di quella a uno solo fine sono ordinati, cioè a prendere loro desiderato porto per salutevole via:"(2)
etc.

"la nave de l'umana compagnia dirittamente per dolce cammino a debito porto correa."(3)

"Ed è così: (che), come lo buono marinaio, come esso appropinqua al porto, cala le sue vele, e soavemente, con debile conducimento, entra in quello; così noi dovemo calare le vele de le nostre mondane operazioni e tornare a Dio con tutto nostro intendimento e cuore, sì che a quello porto si vegna con tutta soavitate e con tutta pace..... e attende lo fine di questa vita con molto desiderio e uscìr le pare de l'albergo e ritornare ne la propria mansione, uscìr le pare di cammino e tornare in cittade, uscìr le pare di mare e tornare a porto. O miseri e villi che con le vele alte correte a questo porto, e la ove dovereste riposare, per lo impeto del vento rompete, e perdetes voi medesimi la dove tanto camminato avete!"(4)

On page 152 Dante himself is the ship without rudder at the mercy of all the winds of chance. On page 171 the ship seems to have got in by accident and becomes involved with the feast in an unfortunate way. It is the only mixed metaphor in the Convivio and in a writer of so clear and mathematical a mind as Dante, it is rather striking. Its appearance is probably due to the fact that the figure of the Convivio was so present to Dante that he no longer regarded it as such, and the metaphor

(1) p. 171.

(2) p. 251.

(3) p. 253.

(4) pp. 310 - 311.

of the ship is simply an incidental figure within a much larger one. This does not alter the fact however that the sentence seems almost ludicrously confused.

There is a metaphor of a slightly different kind on page 251. It is a more complex figure. The ship is regarded now as a community with a human mind directing it. The idea of the ship making for some desired haven is not lost sight of, but emphasis is laid on the fact that there must be some sovereign mind directing the working of the ship. This of course is Dante's plea for monarchy and empire in religion and the state. The "nocchiero" is the emperor.

The last but one⁽¹⁾ is used in a more noble vein, Dante is thinking of the life of the community as a ship making for the "debito porto." The last is a very beautiful example of a simile with which we are very familiar now. It is a rare touch of lyric beauty in what is, on the whole, rather a prosaic work.

"Come lo buon marinaio, come esso appropinqua al porto, cāla le sue vele, e soavemente, con debile conducimento, entra in quello; così noi dovemo calare le vele delle nostre mondane operazioni e tornare a Dio con tutto nostro intendimento e cuore, sì che a quello porto si vegna con tutta soavitate e con tutta pace."

Dante himself states that the image was suggested to him by the one in Cicero's 'De Senectute.' It is curious to find that he uses this figure for the first time also in a lyrical passage

(1) p. 253.

i.e. in the passage on his exile from Florence.

Dante recurs frequently to the two figures of the ship and the road. They have a latent poetic quality which appealed to him strongly and wherever he employs them he brings this quality out more clearly - sometimes by a mere touch - sometimes by a longer development. It is also to be noted that the figure of the ship and the road are very closely connected in Dante's mind. The aim of each is to reach some destination near or far, and this is the point which Dante fixes on. In one passage near the end of the *Convivio* he uses the two side by side⁽¹⁾ and in passing from the road to the ship he blends them momentarily. It could hardly be called a mixed metaphor because the common quality of the end to be attained is very strong - we might call it a dual metaphor.

Taking the last group, figures from nature, we find several on light and the sun, but these are purely utilitarian in character:

"Poi che non avendo di loro alcuno senso
(dal quale comincia la nostra conoscenza), pure
risplende nel nostro intelletto alcuno lume
de la vivacissima loro essenza, in quanto ve-
demo le sopra dette ragioni, e molt' altre;
sì come afferma chi ha li occhi chiusi l'aere
essere luminoso, per un poco di splendore, o
vero raggio, c(om)e passa per le pupille del
vispistrello:"⁽²⁾

"E ben si dee credere che l'anima mia conoscea
la sua disposizione atta a ricevere l'atto
di questa donna, e però ne temea; ch'è l'atto
de l'agente si prende nel disposto paziente.

(1) p. 310 XXVIII.

(2) p. 179.

"sì come dice lo Filosofo nel secondo de l' Anima. E però se la cera avesse spirito da temere, più temerebbe di venire a lo raggio del sole che non farebbe la pietra, però che la sua disposizione riceve quello per più forte operazione."(1)

"Elle soverchian lo nostro intelletto, Come raggio di sole un frale viso:"(2)

"Onde vedemo lo sole che, discendendo lo raggio suo qua giù, reduce le cose a sua similitudine di lume, quanto esse per loro disposizione possono da la (sua) virtude lume ricevere. Così dico che Dio questo amore a sua similitudine reduce, quanto esso è possibile a lui assimigliarsi."(3)

In the Convivio Dante's light figures are not poetic, they are strictly explanatory. They are varied, ingenious, but rational and very far removed from the glowing images of Guinicelli and Cavalcanti: the light of divine understanding reaches to our mind as ray of sunlight through the pupil of a bat's eye: wax has special cause to fear the sun just as Dante feels a pre-disposition to fall in love with philosophy: "la grande virtù" of philosophy penetrates to Dante's soul as rays of light through glass: wherever the heaven is, there are the stars, and so wherever there is nobility of heart virtue must go along with it - and so on.

We shall group next a few images which could be called natural history figures. They are interesting because they show that Dante watched the life of the animal world in a rudimentary way, and that he knew something of the habits of birds

(1) p. 138.

(2) p. 203.

(3) p. 235.

and beasts:

p. 165 l. 7 - sheep.

p. 258 ll. 32 - 33 - the kite and the swallow.

p. 286 ll. 15 - 22 - the bee.

p. 305 ll. 8 - 13 - the horse.

Next come figures from the seasons, and plant-life.

p. 22 ll. 33 - 4 - frost.

p. 247 ll. 20 - 22 - spring-time as the time\ sowing.

p. 293 ll. 31 - 34 - barley - its resemblances to, and difference from grass.

p. 307 ll. 21 - 24, l. 42 - This last figure is of a slightly different stamp. The other figures are all of a prosaic and strictly explanatory kind. This one is certainly explanatory, but at the same time it is lyrical. It is very typical of the fact that in all ages "nature" has knocked at the door of men's hearts; Dante, steeped in the artificial and formal complexity of the Middle Ages, wants a symbol for perfection and he finds it in the rose. Terse enough as the simile is we see in it a glimmering of the appreciation of natural beauty; just as in the letters of Madame de Sévigné with all their classical worldliness we sometimes get a glimpse of long, cool forests in Brittany which were old in the days of Merlin and Vivian. Dante says:

"e conviensi aprire l'uomo quasi come una rosa che più chiusa stare non puote, e l'odore che dentro generato è spandere:sì come la rosa, che non pur a quelli che va a lei per lo suo odore rende quello, ma eziandio a qualunque appresso lei va."

This usage must not in any sense be confused with the traditional figure of the rose as used in the conventions of courtly love.

Lastly there are a few similes and metaphors which must be treated separately. The first is on p. 164, l. 25

"E sì come colui che è cieco de li occhi sensibili va sempre secondo che li altri giudicando lo male e lo bene, così colui che è cieco del lume de la discrezione sempre va nel suo giudicio secondo il grido, o diritto o falso; onde qualunque ora lo guidatore è cieco, conviene che esso e quello, anche cieco, ch'a lui s'appoggia vegnano a mal fine."(1)

It is a figure taken from a common sight in the Middle Ages - the blind man who is at the mercy of all who lead him. Dante says that men are blind in their minds because they unthinkingly adhere to the opinions of others - they condemn the use of Italian because other men do so. Next there are two fleeting references to a mirror, one on p. 220 ll. 5 - 6, another on p. 225, ll. 34 - 35 - but these are hardly worthy of note. Then on page 261, ll. 1 - 10, there is a geometrical figure borrowed from Aristotle which Dante employs in one of his fantastic pieces of logical deduction.

There are three metaphors which should be noted. On p.

(1) p. 164.

7. the last line on the page, there is a curious form of a current figure, ^{at least} it seems to our ears curious: (1)

"s'io son d'ogni tormento ostale e chiave."

The expression, as we know, was used frequently both by troubadours and Italians, e.g. in Guido Cavalcanti we find: "Voi portate la chiave Di ciascuna vertù alta e gentile." Still Dante's metaphor seems to have been put the wrong way round, it is certainly not an image, because its suggestion is most confused. Strangely enough in this very canzone of Cavalcanti's we find an echo of the second of the metaphors under discussion: "L'una cantava; e' piove Foco d'amore in mei." says Guido. On p. 203 l. 63 Dante states: "Sua bieltà piove fiammelle di foco." We have an unhappy feeling here that the "fiammelle" owes its diminutive ending to the author's anxiety about the length of his line. There is an interpretation of it on p. 223 and another on p. 239 which give no explanation whatever of how or why the metaphor was chosen. These last two metaphors do not compare very favourably with their parallels in Cavalcanti. Dante, for the moment, has turned his back upon lyric poetry. The third metaphor is a very apt and forcible one from medicine - it is the only medical one which Dante employs and he uses it to explain why he abandons the symbolical style in the third canzone.

(1) Cp. p. 14, l. 35.

"E però che in questa canzone s'intese a rimedio così necessario, non era buono sotto alcuna figura parlare, ma convennesi per via tostana questa medicina, acciò che fosse tostana la sanitate, (dare); la quale corrotta, a così laida morte si correa." (1)

Let us turn now to Personification. The Personification may be treated in three groups, 1) Abstract qualities, 2) thoughts and senses, 3) poems. Dante has a passage in the Vita Nuova (2) which treats of rhetorical figures. In one way it is interesting but in other respects it is disappointing. It is interesting because Dante leads us to believe that by a rhetoric figure he means personification. (3) It is disappointing because he gives no real key at all to his use of personification. He sets out to justify his personification of love, but the only defence he can offer is that Latin poets have used it and that therefore vulgar poets are equally entitled to use it. He further goes on to state that the figures must be used "con ragione" and must admit of interpretation in prose. (4) This shows that Dante is thinking of Personification in verse, and it is not hard to see what kind of Personification he means. He is thinking of the allegorical and symbolical Personification of certain qualities e.g. philosophy, which was destined to convey a four-fold meaning to the reader. This use of allegory and personification, almost hand in hand, dates back to French allegorical poetry and to the "Roman de la Rose" in particular. Gaspary

(1) p. 246.

(2) XXV.

(3) p. 35. 11. 15 - 19.

(4) " 11. 24 - 25.

says: "This 'Romance of the Rose' is, in the form of a vision, an allegorical representation of love, with its changing joys and sorrows. In it abstractions appear personified - the faculties and passions of the soul, qualities, virtues, the conditions that are opposed and favourable to love, pleasures, happiness, liberality, courtesy, reason. wealth, fair mien, friendly welcome, shame, fear, calumny, prudery, jealousy, and the like; and these represent a varied and vivacious drama, speaking and acting."⁽¹⁾ The work had a very far-reaching influence on Italian literature. It was imitated almost immediately and helped to inaugurate the allegorico-didactic style. The 'Roman de la Rose,' however, could not have made the appeal it did, had not the spirit of the age tended naturally towards allegory. The tradition of allegorical interpretation of literature had persisted from classical times. It was applied wholesale to the Bible and to Vergil. Men were not content to take the surface meaning of a passage of Vergil, they had to probe for some hidden truth. It was therefore natural that they should reverse the process and disguise what they wished to convey under the form of a narrative or love poem. Incidentally, this explains why Dante goes to the trouble of instituting his "Convivio." In the first tractate he takes great pains to explain his plan, but after the first sentence of the second tractate the "Convivio" ignominiously disappears. Allegory is a cumbersome thing

(1) Gaspary p. 244.

to work with. One must either concentrate on the allegorical form, or on the hidden meaning. It is almost impossible to balance the two equally. Dante is chiefly concerned with the knowledge he has to convey, in this instance, and therefore, consciously or unconsciously, he gradually drops the allegorical form. In the "canzoni" the same thing happens. Arrived at the third canzone Dante discards the symbolical style and gives us plain and very unvarnished truth. The result is disaster for the poem - strange that he should confuse poetic form with poetry. In the philosophical "canzoni" he wishes to treat of certain ideas which are prosaic in the real sense of the word. To begin with he puts them into poetic and allegorical form, finally he has to give up the disguise. He never stops to ask himself the one question which is the crux of the matter - why should one go to the labour of expressing these things in poetry at all?

The personification of abstractions then is incidental to this allegorical style. Probably the survival of pagan ideas and their propagation through the reading of the classics fortified the predilection for this kind of figure. The following examples are found in the "Vita Nuova" and "Convivio."

Vita Nuova.

"la via d'Amor"(1)

"morte villana"(2)

"Dal secolo hai partita Cortesia"(3)

"Amore in mezzo de la via in abito leggier di
peregrino."(4)

(1) p. 7.

(2) p. 9.

(3) p. 9.

(4) p. 10. This figure is of course suggested by Franciscan influences. We have had previous occasion to comment upon it.

"non poria Pietate
 tener più contra me l'usata prova."(1)
 "fugge dinanzi a lei superbia ed ira"(2)

Convivio.

"li occhi de la ragione."(3)
 "Amor che ne la mente mi ragiona."(4)

These figures are, without exception, commonplaces of the writings of the times. Even the epithets are stock ones e.g. "villana" was applied to "morte" as early as Giacomino Pugliese "Villana morte, che non hai pietanza."

The personification of the senses as we have said now upon several occasions, was derived from the teaching of Thomas Aquinas and Aristotle. Thomas Aquinas terms sense perception "animal spirits." These spirits, he says, lodge in the brain and constitute the main difference between animals and plants. The personification of thoughts is a practice which is closely connected with this.

"Tutti li miei penser parlan d'Amore."(5)
 "appresso la battaglia de li diversi pensieri."(6)
 "li spiriti del viso."(7)
 "Gentil pensiero che parla di vui
 Sen vene a dimorar meco sovente,
 E ragiona d'amor si dolcemente,
 Che face consentir lo core in lui.
 L'anima dice al cor: "Chi è costui,
 Che vene a consolar la nostra mente,
 Ed è la sua vertu tanto possente,

(1) p. 17.
 (2) p. 25.
 (3) p. 153.
 (4) p. 202.

(5) p. 15.
 (6) p. 16.
 (7) p. 16, l. 28.

"Ch'altro penser non lascia star con nui?"
 Ei le risponde: "Oï anima pensosa,
 Questi è uno spiritel novo d'amore,
 Che reca innanzi me li suoi desiri;
 E la sua vita, e tutto 'l suo valore,
 Mosse de li occhi di quella pietosa
 Che si turbava de' nostri martiri." (1)

a typical instance of "dolce stil nuovo" psychology.

"un soave penser, che se negia." (2)

"la vittoria del nuovo pensiero." (3)

The objective representation of psychological conditions is, as we know, the outstanding characteristic of the "dolce stil nuovo" writing. It is never used to excess by Dante, merely forming part of that intense realism which was characteristic of his style. Dante ha la facoltà di vedere come cose e persone, come sostanze del mondo reale quelli che sono puri concetti della mente, sicchè il suo pensiero si rivela per lui con immagini e persino con visioni." (4) "Dante sa creare una quantità di individui viventi nella sua poesia, anzi ogni oggetto del mondo materiale acquista subito per lui una specie d'anima.....sospiri e spiriti sono perciò animati di tal vita che essi operano perfettamente, viaggiano, contemplano, parlano, si dolgono senza che abbiano nulla di indeterminata e di astratto. Onde la gran vita che penetra tutta la lirica dantesca, il movimento drammatico di essa, il frequente dialogismo, le apostrofi etc." (4) Dante thus describes feelings in terms of their visible results, but sometimes he reverses the process as when he says that his

(1) p. 49.

(2) p. 170.

(3) p. 174.

(4) Zingarelli, Storia lett. d'Ital. p. 364.

eyes are "cerchiati di corona di martiri."

Dante's personification of his poems is particularly charming. Sometimes it betrays a touching strain of vanity in the poet: "Ponete mente almen com' io son bella!" Sometimes it is a delicate way of conveying a message to madonna. It is noteworthy that this usage holds good only for the ballate and the canzoni. We find it at the opening and end of the Ballata on pp. 13 - 14,

"Ballata, i' voi che tu ritrovi Amore,
E con lui vade a madonna davante,
Si che la scusa mia, la qual tu cante,
Ragioni poi con lei lo mio signore.
Tu vai, ballata, si cortesemente,
Che senza compagnia
Dovresti avere in tutte parti ardire;
.....
Gentil ballata mia, quando ti piace,
Movi in quel punto che tu n'aggie onore."

at the end of the canzone on p. 23,

"Canzone, io so che tu girai parlando
A donne assai, quand'io t'avrò avanzata.etc."

and at the end of the canzone on p. 42.

"Pietosa mia canzone, or va piangendo;
E ritruova le donne e le donzelle
A cui le tue sorelle
Erano usate di portar letizia;
E tu, che se' figliuola di tristizia,
Vatten disconsolata a star con elle."

In the famous canzone where Dante dreams of the death of Beatrice he is so moved by feeling that he has forgotten this little convention. There is an example at the end of the first canzone in the Convivio

"Canzone, io credo che saranno radi
 Color che tua ragione intendan bene,
 Tanto la parli faticosa e forte.
 Onde, se per ventura elli addivene
 Che tu dinanzi da persone vadi
 Che non ti paian d'essa bene accorte,
 Allor ti priego che ti riconforte,
 Dicendo lor, diletta mia novella:
 'Ponete mente almen com'io son bella!'"(1)

at the end of the second

"Canzone, e' par che tu parli contraro
 Al dir d'una sorella che tu hai;
 Che questa donna che tanto umil fai
 Ella la chiama fera e disdegnosa.
 Tu sai che 'l ciel sempr' è lucente e chiaro,
 E quanto in sè non si turba già mai;
 Ma li nostri occhi per cagioni assai
 Chiaman la stella talor tenebrosa.
 Così, quand' ella la chiama orgogliosa,
 Non considera lei secondo il vero,
 Ma pur secondo quel ch'a lei pareo:
 Che l'anima teme, a,
 E teme ancora, sì che mi par fero
 Quantunqu'io veggio la 'v' ella mi senta.
 Così ti scusa, se ti fa mestero;
 E quando poi, a lei ti rappresenta:
 Dirai: 'Madonna, s'ello v'è a grato,
 Io parlero di voi in ciascun lato.'"(2)

and the third:

"Tu le puoi dir per certo:
 'Io vo parlando de l'amica vostra.'"(3)

(1) p. 171.

(2) pp. 203 - 4.

(3) p. 244.

These personifications sometimes give rise to very beautiful or odd descriptions of the poem, at one moment it is: "Tu che sei figliuola di tristizia," at another: "diletta mia novella," at another "contra-li-erranti mia." In fact Dante's use of this convention is characterised by the most tender intimacy.

There are two instances of the personification of stars, close upon one another, and in both cases they are said to weep.

"sì che le stelle si mostravano di colore
ch'elle mi faceano giudicare che piangessero;"⁽¹⁾

"Turbar lo sole e apparir la stella,
E pianger elli ed ella;"⁽²⁾

I know of no other example of this in contemporary poets. It seems rather a fantastic figure but it clearly arises from the fact that Dante believed that nature reflected the moods of man and shared in his sufferings. In his dream of the death of Beatrice, the sun and sky are darkened, and birds fall to the earth dead. Presumably Dante received the idea from the natural upheaval which took place at the death of Christ.

There is a beautiful and celebrated personification of Florence on page 151, l. 39: "la bellissima e famosissima figlia di Roma, Fiorenza." On p. 155 l. 4 there is a personification which is closely connected with the personification of the poems. Dante says that this commentary "è fatto in vece di serro a le 'nfrascritti canzoni". Lastly there is a Biblical one on page

(1) p. 29.

(2) p. 31.

18 l. 8 of the poem: "le pietre por che gridin; moia, moia."

These then are the principal figures of the Vita Nuova and the Convivio. It will be seen that Dante's poetic genius shines out far more brilliantly in the spontaneous unconscious figures than in the rhetoric ones which he contrives. Gaspary claims for him that his symbolical forms in the philosophical canzoni are always beautiful and enobled by his deep feeling. Of the three inserted in the Convivio I think this can hardly be said. The poetic images are most beautiful in the "Tre Donne" but those of a symbolical nature are not the most beautiful. The beauty appears only when Dante forgets his allegoric form and gives free rein to his love of dramatic imagery. Dante was very much the man of his age and he adopted the conventions of his age. Very often in these philosophical canzoni we feel that his genius is cramped.

There is one curious usage in the Vita Nuova which is so far connected with poetic language as to admit of its discussion here. I refer to the role of the screen lady. The convention was not a generally accepted one, (there is an instance of its use in Rambertino Bulvalelli⁽¹⁾), and therefore it is only reasonable to suppose as does Zingarelli that the idea "dive ripeter l'origine da speciali accidenti reali"⁽²⁾ He continues: "Questi amori di schermo sono veramente passioni mondane, amori non dissimili da quelli dei poeti anteriori come sono, in gran parte,

(1) Bertoni p. 221.

(2) Zingarelli op. cit. p. 99.

le rime che vi si riferiscono."(1)

Rime della Vita Nuova.

In dealing with these the wisest measure seems to be to proceed from poem to poem. The work is so unequal and so many compositions are still unclassified that we feel encouraged to do this.

There is a delightful personification of a poem, as a timid maiden hiding behind the poet.

"Lo qual ti guido esta pulcella nuda,
Che ven di dietro a me sì vergognosa,
Ch'a torno gir non osa,
Perch'ella non ha vesta in che si chiuda:
E priego il gentil cor che 'n te riposa
Che la rivesta e tagnala per druda,
Sì che sia conosciuda
E possa andar la 'vunque è disiosa."(2)

Notice that the lines refer to the succeeding stanza. A Provençal reminiscence follows - the good master and the painted image come side by side:

"Chè buon signor già non restringe freno
Per soccorrere lo servo quando 'l chiama,
Che non pur lui, ma suo onor difende.
E certo la sua doglia più m'incende,
Quand' i' mi penso ben, donna, che vui
Per man d'Amor là entro pinta sete:
Così e voi dovete
Vie maggiormente aver cura di lui;
Chè que' da cui convien che 'l ben s'appari,
Per l'immagine sua ne tien più cari."(3)

At the end of the same poem come the "dolce stil nuovo" conven-

(1) Zingarelli op. cit. p. 104.

(2) p. 70.

(3) p. 71.

tions, the lady's salutation and the arrow of love:

"Dunque vostra salute omai si mova,
E vegna dentro al cor, che lei aspetta,
Gentil madonna, come avete inteso:
Ma sappia che l'entrar di lui si trova
Serrato forte da quella saetta
Ch'Amor lanciò lo giorno ch'i' fui preso;
Per che l'entrare a tutt' altri e conteso,
Fuor ch'a' messi d'Amor, ch'aprir lo sanno
Per volontà de la virtù che 'l serra:"(1)

A little May morning prelude like a distant Provençal echo,
greet us now, but the "angiolel" betrays its date.

"Per una ghirlandetta
Ch'io vidi, mi farà
Sospirare ogni fiore.
I' vidi a voi, donna, portare
Ghirlandetta di fior gentile,
E sovr' a lei vidi volare
Un angiolel d'amore umile;
E'n suo cantar sottile
Dicea; 'Chi mi vedrà
Lauderà 'l mio signore.'"(2)

The ray of light from the lady's eyes causes wonders to be seen,
the beams rain fear into the poet's heart:

"De gli occhi de la mia donna si move
Un lume si gentil, che dove appare
Si veggion cose ch' uom non pò ritrare
Per loro altezza e per lor esser nove:
E de' suoi razzi sovra 'l meo cor piove
Tanta paura, che mi fa tremare,
E dicer 'Qui non voglio mai tornare';(3)

A Biblical reference which is exactly in the style of Cino da
Pistoia occurs next - it is in substance a paraphrase of the

(1) p. 72.

(2) pp. 74 - 5.

(3) pp. 76 - 9.

"Nunc dimittis."

"Ne le man vostre, gentil donna mia,
Raccomando lo spirito che more:
E' se ne va sì dolente, ch'Amore
Lo mira con pietà, che 'l manda via."(1)

A slightly conventional personification of the soul is carried out in the canzone "E' m'incresce di me," it is not one of Dante's happiest moments:

"Ond'è rimasa trista
L'anima mia che n'attendea conforto,
E ora quasi morto
Vede lo core a cui era sposata,
E partir la convene innamorata.
Innamorata se ne va piangendo
Fora di questa vita
La sconsolata, che la caccia Amore.
Ella si move quinci sì dolendo,
Ch'anzi la sua partita
L'ascolta con pietate il suo fattore.
Ristretta s'è entro il mezzo del core
Con quella vita che rimane spenta
Solo in quel punto ch'ella si va via;
E ivi si lamenta
D'Amor, che fuor d'esto mondo la caccia;
E spessamente abbraccia
Li spiriti che piangon tuttavia,
Però che perdon la lor compagnia."(2)

A fine instance of Dante's objective treatment is given in the following lines, they are pregnant with light and life; the lady herself as she gives her greeting is like one come to bring salvation from the skies:

"De gli occhi suoi gittava una lumera,

(1) p. 79.

(2) p. 80.

"La qual pareva un spirito infiammato;
 E i' ebbi tanto ardir, ch' in la sua cera
 Guarda', (e vidi) un angioli figurato.
 A chi era degno donava salute
 Co gli atti suoi quella benigna e piana,
 E 'mpiva 'l core a ciascun di vertute.
 Credo che de lo ciel fosse soprana,
 E venne in terra per nostra salute:
 La 'nd' è beata chi l'è prossimana." (1)

The dramatic personification of abstract qualities is illustrated in this sonnet. Notice how the figures move, and how the atmosphere is charged with suspense at the close. The softness of Love's voice is striking:

"Un dì sì venne a me Malinconia
 E disse: 'Io voglio un poco stare teco;'
 E parve a me ch'ella menasse seco
 Dolore e Ira per sua compagnia.
 E io le dissi: 'Partiti, va via;'
 Ed ella mi rispose come un greco:
 E ragionando a grande agio meco,
 Guardai e vidi Amore, che venia
 Vestito di novo d'un drappo nero,
 E nel suo capo portava un cappello;
 E certo lacrimava pur di vero.
 Ed eo li dissi: 'Che hai, cattivello?'
 Ed el rispose: 'Eo ho guai e pensiero,
 Chè nostra donna mor, dolce fratello.'" (2)

In the "Rime" light figures of the true "dolce stil nuovo" type abound. In the canzone "Poscia ch'Amor" there is a sun parallel:

"Con la perfetta sua bella figura.
 Al gran pianeta è tutta simigliante
 Che, dal levante
 Avante infino a tanto che s'asconde,
 Co li bei raggi infonde
 Vita e virtù qua giuso
 Ne la matera si com' è disposta:" (3)

(1) p. 83.

(2) p. 84.

(3) p. 91.

and again in "Amor, che movi tua virtù dal cielo" there is a magnificent version of the same idea:

"Amor, che movi tua virtù dal cielo
 Come 'l sol lo splendore,
 Che la s'apprende più lo suo valore
 Dove più nobiltà suo raggio trova;
 E come el fuga oscuritate e gelo,
 Così, alto signore,
 Tu cacci la viltate altrui del core,
 Nè ira contra te da lunga prova;
 Da te conven che ciascun ben si mova
 Per lo qual si travaglia il mondo tutto;
 Senza te è distrutto
 Quanto avemo in potenzia di ben fare,
 Come pintura in tenebrosa parte,
 Che non si può mostrare
 Ne dar diletto di color ne d'arte.
 Feremi ne lo cor sempre tua luce,
 Come raggio in la stella,
 Poi che l'anima mia fu fatta ancella
 De la tua podestà primeramente;"⁽¹⁾

the "pintura in tenebrosa parte" is a reminder of the practical figures in the Convivio, while a few lines later we find likewise the burning-glass:

"E hagli un foco acceso,
 Com' acqua per chiarezza fiamma accende;
 Perché nel suo venir li raggi tuoi,
 Con li quai mi risplende,
 Saliron tutti su ne gli occhi suoi."⁽²⁾

Rime per la donna Pietra.

These poems are characterised chiefly by their realism and energy, and by their magnificent descriptions of nature. The studies of winter landscape are transcendent, as in the can-

(1) p. 95.

(2) p. 95.

zoni "Io son venuto al punto della rota," and "Al poco giorno e al gran cerchio d'ombra." We quote the latter because it is full of suggested comparisons to the lady "Pietra:"

"Al poco giorno e al gran cerchio d'ombra
 Son giunto, lasso!, ed al bianchir de' colli,
 Quando si perde lo color ne l'erba;
 e 'l mio disio però non cangia il verde,
 Sì è barbato ne la dura petra
 Che parla e sente come fosse donna.
 Similmente questa nova donna
 Si sta gelata come neve a l'ombra;
 Che non la move, se non come petra,
 Il dolce tempo che riscalda i colli
 E che li fa tornar di bianco in verde
 Perché li copre di fioretti e d'erba.
 Quand' ella ha in testa una ghirlanda d'erba,
 Trae de la mente nostra ogn' altra donna;
 Perché si mischia il crespò giallo e 'l verde
 Sì bel ch'Amor li viene a stare a l'ombra,
 Che m'ha serrato intra piccioli colli
 Più forte assai che la calcina petra.
 La sua bellezza ha più vertu che petra,
 E 'l colpo suo non può sanar per erba;
 Ch'io son fuggito per piani e per colli,
 Per potere scampar da cot'al donna;
 E dal suo lume non mi può far ombra
 Poggio ne mure mai nè fronda verde.
 Io l'ho veduta già vestita a verde
 Sì fatta, ch'ella avrebbe messo in petra
 L'amor ch'io porto pur a la sua ombra;
 Ond' io l'ho chiesta in un bel prato d'erba
 Innamorata, com' anco fu donna,
 E chiuso intorno d'altissimi colli.
 Ma ben ritorneranno i fiumi a' colli
 Prima che questo legno molle e verde
 S' infiammi, come suol far bella donna,
 Di me; che mi torrei dormire in petra
 Tutto il mio tempo e gir pascendo l'erba,
 Sol per veder do' suoi panni fanno ombra.
 Quandunque i colli fanno più nera ombra,
 Sotto un bel verde la giovane donna
 La fa sparere, com' uom petra sott' erba."(1)

(1) p. 105.

In these two compositions Dante has broken away from the conventions of the "stil nuovo." In the nature pictures he gives free rein to his power of imagery, and the tide of inspiration is untrammelled by the complicated rhyme system, which he has been studying in the poems of Arnaut Daniel. We feel that there has been a distinct advance in mental development and we know that Dante had studied as no other could, since the days of the Vita Nuova, Zingarelli comments upon both facts and suggests the obvious connection: "Io son venuto al punto della rota"il pensiero ha libero, ampio sviluppo in libere rime..... (in nature descriptions).....O io m'inganno, o qui si manifesta un grande progresso; non è semplice antitesi, ma fiera contrapposizione del sentimento individuale a tutta la natura anch'essa animata: la coscienza ricca di sè trova il suo mondo in sè medesima, e il poeta, con un piccolo versetto, che par la stessa picciolezza dell' uomo innanzi all' universo, si sporge contro li grandi forze della natura: così spunta una nota particolare della psiche dantesca, che vibrerà nella sua alterigia di solitario.....I suoi colleghi in poesia non erano assurti a tanto, perchè se deriva dalla scienza la loro concezione spiritualista dell' amore, mancò ad essi sufficiente cultura per vedere e intendere nella sua compiutezza l'idea della perfezione intellettuale, una superiore nobiltà dello spirito. I migliori erano intuiti di una filosofia frammentaria, chiusa in un cer-

chio ristretto di idee, qual è l'unione dell' amore con la bontà morale. Dante si accostò risolutamente alle fonti della sapienza medioevale e classica, s'interessò a tutto il mondo speculativo; etc."(1)

In the following canzone, however. ("Amor, tu vedi ben") we go right back to the old troubadour figure of the crystal:

"Segnor, tu sai che per algente freddo
L'acqua diventa cristallina petra
Là sotto tramontana ov' è il gran freddo,
E l'aere sempre in elemento freddo
Vi si converte, sì che l'acqua è donna
In quella parte per cagion del freddo:
Così dinanzi dal sembiante freddo
Mi ghiaccia sopra il sangue d'ogne tempo,
E quel pensiero che m'accorcia il tempo
Mi si converte tutto in corpo freddo,
Che m'esce poi per mezzo de la luce
Là ond' entrò la dispietata luce"(2)

Similar traditional figures occur in "Così nel mio parlar voglio esser aspro" although regarded in another aspect this poem shows a distinct breaking away from customary treatment; we thus find the darts (in a suggested form) the ship and the file. The use of the last item is typical of the trenchant realism of the poem.

"Non trovo scudo ch'ella non mi spezzi
Nè loco che dal suo viso m'asconda;
Chè come fior di fronda,
Così de la mià mente tien la cima:
Cotanto del mio mal par che si prezzi,
Quanto legno di mar che non lieva onda:
E 'l peso che m'affonda

(1) Zingarelli, 'Il canzoniere di Dante:' Lectura Dantis, Jan. 1905. pp. 16 - 17, 21.

(2) p. 106.

"È tal che non potrebbe adeguar rima.
 Ah! angosciata e dispietata lima
 Che sordamente la mia vita scemi,
 Perché non ti ritemi
 Sì di rodermi il core a scorza a scorza,
 Com' io di dire altrui chi ti dà forza?"(1)

Rime Varie Del Tempo Dell' Esilio.

Another return to general conventions marks "Amor da che convien pur ch'io mi doglia." The poet gazes on his wound with pallid face. The lady wears a breast-plate of pride which protects her from all attack.

"Com' io risurgo, e miro la ferita
 Che mi disfece quand' io fui percosso,
 Confortar non mi posso
 Sì ch'io non triemi tutto di paura.
 E mostra poi la faccia scolorita
 Qual fu quel trono che mi giunse a dosso;
 Che se con dolce riso è stato mosso,
 Lunga fiata poi rimane oscura,
 Perché lo spirito non si rassicura.

 E questa sbandeggiata di tua corte,
 Signor, non cura colpo di tuo strale:
 Fatto ha d'orgoglio al petto schermo tale,
 Ch'ogni saetta lì spunta suo corso;
 Per che l'armato cor da nulla è morso."(2)

As frequently happens in these "Rime" the most beautiful portions of this exquisite Mountain Ode are non-figurative, and therefore we must still hold to the conviction with which we set out, that Dante does not make a lavish use of rhetorical language. Perhaps the most beautiful and undoubtedly the favourite figure of the Rime is the description of the first of the "Tre Donne." The canzone is certainly inspired by the Pastorella of Giraut

(1) p. 108.

(2) pp. 121 - 2.

Bornelh in which he tells of his meeting with three shepherdesses. and as the latter is extraordinarily obscure a satisfactory interpretation of it might do much to smooth away the difficulties of Dante's poem. The image referred to above is a new feature in poetry, it is statuesque in character, but, as has already been pointed out, Dante has portrayed life and sorrow in a way that no mere marble could do. We feel that these lines are the product of the poet's mature genius, we have passed another landmark on the road to the Divine Comedy. And it is surely true that the only real value accruing from a study of these earlier works is to be reckoned in terms of their connection with the product of Dante's fullest art; we have found in the canzoniere of the great poet a true forecast of what is to come in a later development. We have found in the Vita Nuova that mysticism which has its birth in the distant troubadour songs, in the Convivio that love of homely realities and appreciation of practical illustration which the Provençals also possessed, the Rime show a mingling of both these qualities accompanied by the symptoms of mental growth and the appreciation of scientific knowledge; all that remained to be created was full power of artistic conception - we find it in these lines:

"Dolesi l'una con parole molto,
 E 'n su la man si posa
 Come succisa rosa:
 Il nudo braccio, di dolor colonna,

APPENDIX.

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